

## Noriega's Refuge Is Sealed Off

### Vatican Refuses To Hand Over General to U.S.

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches  
**PANAMA CITY** — U.S. forces have stepped up activity around the Papal Nunciature, but there were mixed signals as to whether an agreement might be nearing to bring out General Manuel Antonio Noriega.

At the Vatican, a spokesman said Wednesday that it saw no way of handing over General Noriega, who took shelter in the mission Sunday. Washington wants the Panamanian brought to trial on drug and racketeering charges.

But the spokesman, Joaquin Navarro Valls, said the dilemma could be resolved "in a few days, not

Many Panamanians have greeted U.S. soldiers warily. Page 3.

weeks." Mr. Navarro also said the Vatican had not spoken with other countries about arranging exile for General Noriega.

At midday Wednesday, four civilian cars sped up to the nunciature in Panama City, and there was speculation that they might have been Americans coming to take the general. U.S. officers did not indicate their purpose.

Aircraft and helicopters flew constantly over the Panama area, in which the nunciature is located.

A company of U.S. soldiers paraded past the nunciature early Wednesday. Soldiers also laid barbed wire across main roads and cleared waste ground near the mission, either to prepare a helicopter landing spot or remove protection for anyone trying to leave the building.

Meanwhile, the U.S. Justice Department asked authorities in Switzerland, France, Luxembourg and Britain on Wednesday to freeze bank accounts in which the general is believed to have stashed millions of dollars in illegal drug profits.

The Swiss government responded to the U.S. plea to freeze Noriega assets by ordering the "precautionary" freezing of accounts in Zurich and a Geneva bank. In France, authorities froze accounts holding about 20 million francs (\$3.3 million) under the names of General Noriega and members of his family.

In a press conference Wednesday, the new Panamanian president, Guillermo Endara, urged the Vatican to expel General Noriega from the embassy.

"He is a common criminal of the worst kind," Mr. Endara said. "He has been accused, justly accused, of homicide, narcotics trafficking and other very horrendous crimes. We feel that the papal nuncio should in

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## Kiosk

### Egypt, Syria To Renew Ties

**DAMASCUS (AP)** — Egypt and Syria announced Wednesday that they have agreed to restore diplomatic relations after a 12-year dispute sparked by President Anwar Sadat opening peace negotiations with Israel.

A meeting between presidents Hafez Assad of Syria and Hosni Mubarak of Egypt will take place during the first days of next month, the prime ministers of the two countries announced. "The governments of the Syrian Arab Republic and the Arab Republic of Egypt have agreed to resume full diplomatic relations, effective Wednesday, December 27, 1989," the text of a joint statement released in Damascus said.

## General News

Japan-U.S. relations are at a critical stage as they enter a new decade. Page 5.

Prime Minister Shibusawa said he prefers friendship to enmity with Palestinians. Page 6.

## Health/Science

Geologists in California hunt for ways to predict the next earthquake. Page 7.

## Business/Finance

Japan's trade surplus shrank again in November and economists said the trend would continue. Page 9.

West German share prices soared by 4 percent as foreign orders flooded in. Page 9.

## Crossword

**Dow Jones**  
The Dollar  
in New York  
Up 1.5885  
Down 1.8275  
15.14 Yen 142.00  
2,724.40 FF 5,7845



Romanian soldiers standing guard in Bucharest on Wednesday as the country's leaders said they were through with communism and confirmed plans for free elections.

## In Party Memo, China Leaders Assail Gorbachev

**BEIJING** — President Mikhail S. Gorbachev of the Soviet Union has been criticized for undermining socialism in Eastern Europe in an internal Chinese Communist Party document that also explains to Chinese officials the party position on the Romanian uprising.

Officials said Wednesday that they had been ordered to study the document on how to respond to the erosion of Communist power in Eastern Europe.

The officials, working in various professions, said they were called to meetings at work on Tuesday to be instructed on the document, which criticized Mr. Gorbachev for triggering the "subversion of socialism" in Eastern Europe.

Foreign diplomats and Chinese residents said that party leaders were deeply troubled by parallels between the revolt that overthrew Romania's Communist government last week and Beijing's student-led protests, which the Chinese Army crushed in June.

China has voiced concern over the end of the Communist order in Europe, and in private, high-level talks it has criticized Mr. Gorbachev for being the catalyst.

But the document from the central Communist Party leadership in Beijing was its most explicit reaction so far.

"It is obvious the leaders are extremely worried about what has happened in Eastern Europe and

especially in Romania," a middle-ranking official said.

He said that the document was divided into three parts. The first part describes China's "correct" version of the successive anti-Communist movements in Eastern Europe.

The official said that the document called the changes "a subversion of socialism" and held Mr. Gorbachev responsible for them.

Another official said that the document also maintained that the Romanian system of communism was imposed by Moscow and was therefore different from China's homegrown socialism.

The rest of the document instructs officials to reaffirm their

support for China's party line and suggests ways to react to foreigners' questions on Romania.

"We are not allowed to take a stand either for or against" the executed Romanian leader, Nicolae Ceausescu, or the people of Romania, an official said.

"To foreigners, we are supposed to say something neutral, but to Chinese, of course, we should say the demise of communism was a blunder."

Chinese university campuses have drawn inspiration from Mr. Ceausescu's execution and put up new posters scolding China's leaders.

**North Korea Wary of U.S.**  
North Korea on Wednesday urged fellow Communist countries

to heighten vigilance and pool their strengths against "imperialist" efforts to undermine socialism, the Associated Press reported.

A commentary in the official Workers' Party daily Rodong Shinmun did not directly mention the fall of the Communist government in Romania or other changes in Eastern Europe, although it accused U.S. "imperialists" of a "scheme to make the most of changes in political and economic life in some socialist countries."

The commentary, which only made references to China and Cuba, also said that the United States was using military threats, blackmail, political and diplomatic pressure and an economic blockade against Cuba.

## Romania Vows It Will Never Go Back to Communism

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches  
**BUCHAREST** — Romania will never return to communism, Vice President Dumitru Mazilu said Wednesday.

"Romania will be free, not communist, but democratic," Mr. Mazilu said at a news conference.

He confirmed that elections would be held in April. "We shall have free elections, like we never had before," he said. "And Romania will be free."

The new provisional government, meanwhile, gave former members of the Securitate, the secret police, until Thursday evening to surrender or face the death penalty.

The government announced that it was setting up special military courts across the country with powers to hold trials and carry out sentences on the spot.

The ultimatum, read on Bucharest radio, appeared aimed at ending resistance by remnants of the Securitate, who ran the police state under Nicolae Ceausescu, the former president who was executed on Monday.

A similar deadline set Monday was ignored by some Securitate members who the military says have continued to hold out in isolated pockets.

In general, the country appeared quiet on Wednesday, with businesses and factories resuming operations after a 12-day-long uprising.

Ion Iliescu, who was named president on Tuesday by the governing National Salvation Committee, defended the secrecy surrounding the trial and execution of Mr. Ceausescu and his wife, Elena.

"We are people carried away by a very spontaneous process," he told a French television network. "So there was a general demand which pushed us to follow this process." He said the security police could have tried to rescue Mr. Ceausescu.

Mr. Mazilu also defended the swift trial and execution of the Ceausescus as a necessity forced by the popular revolution.

"In my opinion," he said, "this was in perfect order and the procedure was correct under conditions of the revolution."

"We had to make an example of the tyrant in order to make it impossible to have a repeat of the situation that existed before the revolution," he said.

Mr. Mazilu, a former envoy to the United Nations Committee on Human Rights, was placed under house arrest in 1985 after submit-

ting a report condemning rights abuses under Mr. Ceausescu.

Earlier this year, he managed to smuggle out an even stronger report, which was given to a UN commission studying discrimination against ethnic minorities.

Mr. Mazilu was named deputy president by the new ruling coalition, pledged that the government would be made up of people whose associations with Mr. Ceausescu did not discredit them.

"We will work with clean people," he said. "We will have to work with others who had to be submis-

A defiant Ceausescu insisted: 'I am not a defendant.' Page 2.

sive to the tyrant, but we shall not take them into the new government."

In another development, it was announced that Sergiu Celac, a former career diplomat purged by Mr. Ceausescu several years ago, had been appointed foreign minister.

Corneliu Bogdan, deputy foreign minister, said the new government faced several critical tasks, including setting up emergency measures to stabilize the political situation, prepare a new election law and streamline the economy.

Mr. Mazilu described the economy as "disastrous" and said that culture, education and many other aspects of everyday life in Romania had been destroyed under Mr. Ceausescu.

Mr. Bogdan said the country's ministries would continue functioning, under new leaders. Ceausescu appointees had been dismissed, he said.

He defended the provisional government's method of rule by decree, explaining that it was acting in an abnormal situation.

"This revolution was one of the people," Mr. Bogdan said. "It was an explosion of the people." He said the provisional government "was created by the revolution and consists of all strata of the democratic population."

Mr. Bogdan said that while some of the new leaders had been Communist Party members, they had all been elected as a result of a consensus among the members of the National Salvation Committee.

He said that newly emerging political parties would be free to contest the April elections.

"I think one can not talk of opposition parties at the moment," he said, "because at present we have no ruling party."

(Reuters, AP, AFP)

## Trial of Ceausescus Stirs Some Unease

By Barry James

*International Herald Tribune*  
Although there were no signs of sympathy for Nicolae Ceausescu and his wife, Elena, the secrecy and haste with which they were tried and executed aroused unease and criticism Wednesday.

In France, where the trial was shown in a nearly hourlong program on television and watched widely, commentators reported a queasy sense that, whatever Mr. Ceausescu's crimes, the trial was not a good auger for a democratic future.

William Waldegrave, a junior minister at the British Foreign Office, said the British government was concerned by the secrecy of the trial and the haste of the executions.

"I think that what all Romania's friends should be saying to her is: Look, you must draw a line under the past as quickly as possible," Mr. Waldegrave said. "The whole basis of your revolution is that you want a rule of law, you want democracy. How you behave in the first days will to some extent color the shape of your future government and constitution."

President George Bush said he was concerned that the trial was held in secret, but added, "that's their matter."

"We would have preferred it if there had been a public trial," said the White House spokesman, Martin Fitzwater.

In Paris, Michel Tatu, a commentator for Le Monde, said Mr. Ceausescu, the last of the Stalinists, had been sentenced by a Stalinist-type trial.

Another commentator for the newspaper, Bruno Frappat, said the careless, expeditious nature of the trial — as though the Ceausescus had been a couple of peasants before a rural judge — left a sense of uneasiness. It was, said Mr. Frappat, "a parody of justice."

Bernard Kouchner, the French secretary of state for humanitarian

affairs, said he would have preferred to have seen a regular trial that respected the rights of man, which emphasize the importance of due process.

Despite earlier assurances by Romania's National Salvation Committee that the Ceausescus would receive a fair and open trial, only 55 minutes of the two-hour hearing were shown on television.

The image was frequently interrupted by cuts and freeze frames, ensuring that no members of the tribunal could be identified.

The couple sat in overcoats behind kitchen tables, refusing to stand for the court or in any way acknowledge its authority.

No witnesses or evidence was produced and the charges, often delivered in an insulting or mocking tone, were imprecise. Even the couple's defense lawyer joined in condemning them.

The unidentified lawyer, heard only in a voice-off, said he considered the trial to have been legal, and that he was convinced of the couple's guilt. He urged only that the court should not act in a spirit of revenge.

The deposed president and his wife reacted with a mixture of emotions — arrogance, contempt, defiance, even disbelief. There were times when it seemed that Mr. Ceausescu was unaware he was facing a trial. To the last, he insisted he was president and commander of the armed forces, and said he would answer only to the national assembly.

In Bucharest, Western political analysts said army leaders may have imposed a secret trial to conceal their involvement in the misdeeds of the old regime. They said the delay in broadcasting the videotape, and the clumsy editing appeared to have reflected differences between the army and civilian leaders of the National Salvation Committee about what should be revealed.



A U.S. soldier, one of a squad sent after a sniper in Panama City. The search turned up a weapon.

## U.S. Officials Are Unmoved as the Dollar Slides Further

By Lawrence Malkin

*International Herald Tribune*  
**WASHINGTON** — The slide of the dollar continued unchecked Wednesday, and both currency traders and U.S. officials were content to let it go.

Extremely thin holiday markets exaggerated the year-end trend.

The dollar's weakness was most pronounced against the Deutsche mark, traders said, because it appears the West German economy is

strengthening as a result of opportunities in the reforming economies of Eastern Europe.

After sinking to its lowest level in 18 months in Frankfurt earlier, the U.S. currency finished at 1.6865 DM in New York, down from 1.6990 DM at Tuesday's close.

Against the yen, the dollar fared better because the Japanese economy was seen as less robust, traders said. The U.S. currency closed at 142.00 yen, nearly unchanged from 141.895 yen on Tuesday.

The general decline of the dollar is tied to the decline of U.S. interest rates, a move that is being promoted cautiously by the Federal Reserve Board.

Fed officials are in contact with their opposite numbers in foreign central banks, and they were not surprised by upward shifts in Japanese and German interest rates.

The U.S. Treasury, for its part, has reverted to a hands-off attitude after engaging in a dispute with the

Fed during the autumn, when the dollar was rising. Treasury officials were then pressuring the Fed to pursue a lower dollar more aggressively. But this could only have been achieved by lowering interest rates at a speed that the Fed was unwilling to take, lest it be seen as soft on inflation.

"The Fed didn't want to fight a losing battle in the markets, so it waited until the market moved its way," said Robert Solomon, former

chief of the Fed's international division and now a guest scholar at the Brookings Institution.

With the softening of the U.S. economy, the central bank has begun to relax credit, thus allowing the dollar to drift down and ending the skirmish with the Treasury. The Treasury has signaled what seems to be satisfaction, by withdrawing to its traditional posture of refusing

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## Hizzoner Gets in Last Word as Big Apple's Mayor

By Howard Kurtz

*Washington Post Service*  
**NEW YORK** — Edward I. Koch, outgoing mayor of New York and future pitchman for Ultra Slim-Fast Diets, took a few final swipes at his detractors in a farewell news conference.

Sitting beside the fireplace in his office, the 65-year-old Democrat patted himself on the back for his candor and took jabs at those who he said exaggerated the city's ills during his 12-year tenure.

"I've tried to tell the truth probably more than most people in public office," Mr. Koch said Tuesday. "My telling the truth, or trying to tell the truth, got me into more trouble than anything else I ever did, but I'm proud of it."

While Mr. Koch offered these comments free, the meter starts running Monday when he leaves the \$130,000 post and is succeeded by David N. Dinkins. The may-

or who never tired of hearing his own voice will be marketing his opinions as a columnist, TV and radio commentator, university instructor and fixture on the mashed-potato circuit. He also will be a partner at a Manhattan law firm and will be looking for commercial endorsement opportunities.

Asked about his agreement to hawk a diet program, Mr. Koch, who has waged an ongoing battle against his paunch, said: "Can you think of a more likely candidate? There's nothing evil about commercials, so long as the commercial is for a product that I think is acceptable, one that I approve of," he added. "The fact is, I used to do a lot of commercials for free."

"I even endorsed New York water. Some smart guy was bottling it and selling it to the yanks."

He has enjoyed a nostalgia boom since losing the Democratic primary in September, with even diehard Koch-haters paying

tribute to his pugnacious persona. Noting the unusual applause from "reporters who bear the hell out of me," Mr. Koch attributed this to his liberation from having to make unpopular decisions.

But journalists bored by Mr. Dinkins's deliberate style clearly will miss their sparring partner.

"We had some terrible exchanges in the last year, all of which caused me great joy," Daily News columnist Mike McAlary wrote recently. "I would write rotten things about the mayor, and he would call me a lout."

"Even in a bad month, Koch was good for a half-dozen columns,"

Mr. Koch returned several times to the event that seemed to trigger his political descent, his harsh attacks in April 1988 on the then-presidential candidate Jesse L. Jackson.

"The press is just as much to blame as I

am because you didn't carry my full sentence. My full sentence was, 'Jews and other supporters of Israel would be crazy to vote for Jesse Jackson, in the same way that blacks and other supporters of black causes would be crazy to vote for George Bush.' That's a terrific sentence! Nobody ever got upset at the second half of the sentence."

His office is covered with the signs of a passing era: photos of Mr. Koch with Jimmy Carter and Pope John Paul II, cartoons of him as a football player and circus performer, a portrait of his mayoral hero, Fiorello La Guardia.

He said his advisers had urged him to leave the door ajar for another run for office. He then slammed it shut.

"I never will. I never will. I've had it." He also declined invitations to say he would have done things differently.

"I'm not agonizing over anything," he said.



# Bucharest TV: High Drama Outside, and Inside, the Studio

By John Kifner

New York Times Service

BUCHAREST — "This is the first revolution on live television," Ion Todan was saying, proud and tired Wednesday afternoon amid the chaotic yet business-like clutter of the Videocenter that has replaced the dictatorship of Nicolae Ceausescu.

Studio 4 of Free Romanian Television — the only studio with outside windows — a chamber about 12 feet (3.6 meters) square with antiquated cameras and black and white monitors, has been the real seat of power since Mr. Ceausescu was removed Friday after 24 years of harsh, absolute rule.

The broadcast of the military trial of Mr. Ceausescu and his wife, Elena, and the shots of the executed ruler's body, repeated on Wednesday to rapt audiences, was a profoundly political act, a bid by the provisional government, the National Salvation Committee, to consolidate power and show

that further resistance by elements in the security police was pointless.

Since the poet Mircea Dinescu suddenly appeared on the air Friday morning shouting "We've won, we've won," the once-soporific state television became the instrument and embodiment of the revolution, struggling against sniper fire, commando attacks and its own outdated gear to keep broadcasting.

"We knew we had to stay on the air," said Eugenia Bogdan, one of the television workers, her face lined with fatigue. "If television falls, the revolution falls. That's for certain."

Outside, the blocks of luxurious villas and embassy buildings around the station were empty, bullet-scarred and broken from the fire of the tanks and soldiers defending it. Inside, the monitors showed scenes unimaginable a week ago: People singing Christmas carols.

The tale of Studio 4 reveals much about

power in the electronic age. Once, revolutions and coups targeted radio stations as the monopoly of information. In the transition to television, the revolution spread. A revolution, one technology spread. A revolution, one technology spread. A revolution, one technology spread.

The immediacy of live broadcasts makes television a powerful participant as events unfold. And, the new electronic age makes it almost impossible for governments to limit information.

Shortwave radios pick up foreign broadcasts. East Germans longingly watched

in Eastern Europe," said Sergei Seculescu, a student. "We can see TV from Bulgaria, from Yugoslavia. We listen to the foreign radio, to Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, BBC. The phone was working, people have brothers, friends."

The impact of the television here was extraordinary as it showed, sometimes as they were happening, the demonstrations and the gun battles between the army supporting the popular revolution and the security forces that had propped up the old order, as well as the first tentative steps of the provisional government.

Early Saturday, as the security forces loyal to Mr. Ceausescu began attacking the station, a family in the western city of Arad sat spellbound before their television watching announcers force smiles while gunshots sounded during the broadcasts as soldiers fought security police in the station lobby.

Beyond the announcer, a helmeted soldier with a rifle kept watch. Paratroopers who had repelled the attack were brought into the studio as heroes. The announcer broadcast an appeal for help.

An eclectic panel of revolutionaries sat around a table draped in red, yellow and blue national colors. It included a tank driver, two men in suits, one in a denim jacket and a student in a parka and turtle-neck. At 3 A.M., the student was reading from a newspaper and began singing a song, only to be interrupted by the appearance of one of the country's biggest soccer stars.

At another point, the television showed 10 soldiers in a circle with their rifles pointed at the building's elevators, fearful that the security police had infiltrated. A long-time news anchorman told his listeners that he had been forced to lie for years. He apologized and stayed on the air.

## A Defiant Ceausescu: 'I Am Not a Defendant'

Reuters

BELGRADE — Excerpts of Nicolae Ceausescu's trial on Dec. 25 printed by the Tanjug press agency on Wednesday show how bitter the exchanges were between the Romanian dictator and his military accusers.

Mr. Ceausescu and his wife Elena, executed by an army firing squad on Monday, defiantly denied the right of the court to judge them and refused to answer questions.

But the accusations came thick and fast.

"There are today more than 64,000 dead in all cities," the prosecutor said. "You have forced poverty onto people. Learned people, true scientists, have left the country in order to escape from you. Who are the foreign mercenaries who are shooting? Who brought them here?"

"This is a provocation," Mrs. Ceausescu said.

"I refuse to answer that question," Mr. Ceausescu replied.

Turning to Mrs. Ceausescu, the prosecutor said: "Here is the illiterate scientist who could neither speak nor read," mocking her chemical engineering degree, which took her to the pinnacle of the Romanian Academy of Science.

Mrs. Ceausescu said: "I wonder what my colleagues, the intellectuals of this country, would say to this."

"Maybe you will be more cooperative," the prosecutor said. "Do you know anything about genocide in Timisoara?"

"No," said Mrs. Ceausescu.

"All you did was science, polymers," the prosecutor asked. Mrs. Ceausescu, first deputy prime minister and effectively Mr. Ceausescu's second-in-command, was in charge of the country when the first anti-government riots broke out in the western town of Timisoara in mid-December. Mr. Ceausescu was visiting Iran.

"Her works have been published abroad," Mr. Ceausescu said.

"With what money were your works published abroad?" the prosecutor said.

"I am the president of the Romanian Academy of Science," Mrs. Ceausescu shouted. "I am the first deputy prime minister!"

"What do you know about Timisoara?" the prosecutor asked again.

"I will answer no questions," she replied.

"What can you tell us about the young people killed in Bucharest? The terrorists are members of Securitate, aren't they? Aren't they responsible to the commander-in-chief?"

Mr. Ceausescu began to reply: "The genocide in Timisoara..."

"I have finished with you," the prosecutor interrupted. "I am addressing her. How did General Milea die?" According to Mr. Ceausescu, Defense Minister Vasile Milea was responsible for the massacre in Timisoara and committed suicide on Dec. 22.

Mrs. Ceausescu said: "Ask the doctors and the people."

"Why did you accuse Milea of treason and why did you say that he had committed suicide to avoid your punishment?" the prosecutor asked.

"Milea was a traitor and it was his own decision to commit suicide," Mr. Ceausescu answered.

"The officers said he disobeyed orders for restoring order."

"The last question: I have seen

your daughter's villa. She had a golden kitchen scale."

"What villa?" Mrs. Ceausescu replied. "She lives in an apartment like everybody else. She has nothing. She lived like everybody else. Incredible. What a shame."

"Let Ceausescu tell us something about his Swiss bank accounts," the prosecutor continued.

"Evidence, evidence, evidence!" Mrs. Ceausescu demanded.

"There is not a single account," Mr. Ceausescu replied. "You are a provocateur!"

"All right, all right. There is no account, but if there is, do you believe that the money belongs to the Romanian state?"

"This is a provocation," Mr. Ceausescu said.

"Elena Ceausescu," the prosecutor asked, "do you have mental problems?"

"This is a gross provocation," she cried. "Aren't you ashamed of yourself?"

"I ask you because if you are mentally incompetent, you have a chance," the prosecutor said. "This is your last try. I will ask you several more questions."

Mrs. Ceausescu turned to her husband: "Don't say anything."

"No court," she said. "I will not sign anything. I have fought for the people since I was 14 and this is our people."

The court withdrew to deliberate. Then the following was heard, according to Tanjug:

"We consider the defendants guilty under articles 162, 163, 165 and 167 of the penal code and the court martial has reached the verdict today, Dec. 25: The death sentence and confiscation of all property."

The prosecutor concluded: "They used violence during the 25 years they were in power. Violence was done by starving the people, denying them heating and electricity, and especially grave was the violence against the spirit [of the people]."

"Innocent children were run over by tanks. You dressed Securitate officers into army uniforms in order to turn the people against the army. You ordered oxygen tubes in hospitals to be disconnected. You ordered explosives to be planted in storages where blood plasma was kept."

Mr. Ceausescu listened with a grin on his face. Mrs. Ceausescu said ironically: "Yes, yes."

"And now you are making fun of the court," the prosecutor said.

"They say we killed children," Mrs. Ceausescu said. "That is not true!"

"Defendant Nicolae Ceausescu," the prosecutor started.

"I am not a defendant!" Mr. Ceausescu interrupted. "I am the president of Romania and the commander in chief of the armed forces, and I want to answer before the assembly!" He turned to his wife, looking for support.

"You have betrayed the people," Mr. Ceausescu told the court. "You have betrayed the independence of Romania."

"I have nothing to discuss with you," the prosecutor said.

The court rose. Mrs. Ceausescu said to her husband: "No dear, we will not rise. We are human beings."

Ceausescu and his wife were executed by firing squad on Christmas Day. An army officer said so many soldiers had volunteered to join the squad that a lottery was held to allocate places.



Bucharest residents lining up Wednesday to buy bread now that food rationing has been ended.



The bodies of Nicolae Ceausescu, left, and his wife in pictures taken from Romanian television.

## Sofia Leaders Set Opposition Talks

Reuters

SOFIA — Bulgaria's Communist leaders, in a further concession to calls for radical change, agreed Wednesday to start immediate talks with opposition groups.

The Politburo said Tuesday that it would open a dialogue with opposition groups early in 1990, but it did not set a date. The new announcement followed a two-hour warning strike by thousands of workers across the country on Wednesday.

A general strike, which was called by the independent trade union Podkrepa for Thursday, was called off. A union spokesman said that the strike was called off after the Communist Party and the Union of Democratic Forces, an

opposition umbrella group, agreed to hold talks.

Opposition activists said that doctors, miners and factory and railway workers were among those joining Wednesday's strike.

A Politburo member, Andrei Lukov, and Petar Beron, secretary of the opposition group, agreed to start talks on Thursday on opening a dialogue next week, according to an opposition member, Konstantin Trenchev.

The country's new leader, Petar T. Mladenov, has been anxious to prove his willingness for change in the face of a wave of street demonstrations.

The Communist Party has said it will abandon its guarantee of a leading role in government and has

promised free elections, but many of Bulgaria's opposition groups say the pledges do not go far enough.

Mr. Trenchev, who is the president of the Podkrepa trade union, said that next week's talks would be open and that names of the participants would be made public.

On Tuesday evening, Soviet television broadcast footage of Mr. Ceausescu's body after he had been shot by firing squad on Christmas Day.

Several countries have announced aid programs for Romania. Japan said it would send \$1 million after an appeal from the International Committee of the Red Cross for \$4 million in medical relief.

The Irish Red Cross said it would send eight tons of medical supplies, food and equipment. It began a campaign to match a cash donation of about \$43,000 promised by the Irish government.

An Israeli military spokesman said a plane carrying six to eight tons of medicine, bandages and equipment, and two Romanian-speaking surgeons, left for Bucharest on Wednesday. France said its post office would send free aid packages to any "identified recipient" in Romania until January.

The Bush administration said Tuesday that it was providing \$500,000 to buy medical supplies. In a related development Wednesday, the Iranian spiritual leader, Ali Khamenei, defended Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati, who has been under fire for allowing Mr. Ceausescu's visit to Tehran last week.

The Iranian press and several politicians have attacked Mr. Velayati for not informing the Iranian leadership of the hatred in Romania toward Mr. Ceausescu.

Mr. Khamenei, supporting the foreign minister, said at a rally in Tehran that he "would not allow the weakening of authorities by jealous undue criticism against them," the national news agency IRNA reported.

The press agency said earlier that Mr. Ceausescu's official visit, which took place after the popular uprising against him had started, was "the biggest pool of the Iranian Foreign Ministry."

The Iranian Majlis, or parliament, has summoned Mr. Velayati to explain why his ministry sanctioned the visit. The Foreign Relations Committee questioned him on Monday but said his answers were not satisfactory.

Mr. Velayati, apparently trying to respond to criticism, recognized the Romanian government on Tuesday and dismissed Iran's ambassador in Bucharest.

Ambassador Mohammed Jamsid Gohari had not accurately described the situation in Romania for the Foreign Ministry before Mr. Ceausescu arrived in Iran on Dec. 18, IRNA said. (AP, Reuters, AFP)

## Gorbachev Supports New Regime

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

MOSCOW — President Mikhail S. Gorbachev gave his personal support Wednesday to Ion Iliescu, the chief of the Romanian provisional government.

Other countries, including Austria, Italy, North Korea and the Philippines, joined in recognizing the government. Millions of dollars in medical supplies and food were pledged to help Romania recover from its bloody revolution.

The two-paragraph announcement in the Soviet government newspaper Izvestia was strikingly different from the usual formal congratulatory of a new leader in that it was signed "M. Gorbachev," with no title.

Accenting the unusual recognition of an informal government was the shorter announcement immediately below, signed by the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., congratulating Petre Roman on becoming prime minister of Romania.

"You have taken the leadership of the country in a very difficult hour for it, when the Romanian patriots have decisively moved to rescue the nation from the forces of disorder and terror, in order to install a truly democratic order in your country," Mr. Gorbachev's statement read.

He went on to assure Mr. Iliescu that the Romanians would "receive the full support of the peoples and the leadership of the Soviet Union on their road to renewal."

Mr. Gorbachev and Mr. Iliescu reportedly knew each other as university students in Moscow three decades ago.

Several Soviet newspapers expressed concern Wednesday about possible political instability. They cited the National Salvation Committee's apparently tenuous hold on power, the threat of continuing unrest among the Hungarian minority and the possible obliteration of the Communist Party, in whose name Nicolae Ceausescu ruled.

On Tuesday evening, Soviet television broadcast footage of Mr. Ceausescu's body after he had been shot by firing squad on Christmas Day.

Several countries have announced aid programs for Romania. Japan said it would send \$1 million after an appeal from the International Committee of the Red Cross for \$4 million in medical relief.

The Irish Red Cross said it would send eight tons of medical supplies, food and equipment. It began a campaign to match a cash donation of about \$43,000 promised by the Irish government.

An Israeli military spokesman said a plane carrying six to eight tons of medicine, bandages and equipment, and two Romanian-speaking surgeons, left for Bucharest on Wednesday. France said its post office would send free aid packages to any "identified recipient" in Romania until January.

The Bush administration said Tuesday that it was providing \$500,000 to buy medical supplies. In a related development Wednesday, the Iranian spiritual leader, Ali Khamenei, defended Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati, who has been under fire for allowing Mr. Ceausescu's visit to Tehran last week.

The Iranian press and several politicians have attacked Mr. Velayati for not informing the Iranian leadership of the hatred in Romania toward Mr. Ceausescu.

Mr. Khamenei, supporting the foreign minister, said at a rally in Tehran that he "would not allow the weakening of authorities by jealous undue criticism against them," the national news agency IRNA reported.

The press agency said earlier that Mr. Ceausescu's official visit, which took place after the popular uprising against him had started, was "the biggest pool of the Iranian Foreign Ministry."

The Iranian Majlis, or parliament, has summoned Mr. Velayati to explain why his ministry sanctioned the visit. The Foreign Relations Committee questioned him on Monday but said his answers were not satisfactory.

Mr. Velayati, apparently trying to respond to criticism, recognized the Romanian government on Tuesday and dismissed Iran's ambassador in Bucharest.

Ambassador Mohammed Jamsid Gohari had not accurately described the situation in Romania for the Foreign Ministry before Mr. Ceausescu arrived in Iran on Dec. 18, IRNA said. (AP, Reuters, AFP)

## WORLD BRIEFS

### Lithuanians Back Split From Moscow

MOSCOW (Reuters) — Thousands of Lithuanians have rallied to back their Communist Party's decision to split with Moscow in a rare display of support for the Communists in the northern republic, officials said Wednesday.

An aide to the Lithuanian Communist Party chief, Algirdas Mykolas Brazas, said Wednesday that 40,000 people rallied Tuesday in Vilnius, the capital of Lithuania. The aide said there had been rallies in other Lithuanian cities. Political activists said a planned visit by President Mikhail G. Gorbachev was unlikely to persuade the Lithuanians to reverse the move.

Last week, the Communist Party of Lithuania voted, 5 to 1, to form an independent party. Journalists said that the Lithuanian party leaders had returned on Tuesday in an optimistic mood from a Communist Party Central Committee meeting in Moscow, which failed to decide whether to penalize the rebellious republic.

### Khmer Rouge Asserts It Cut Routes

BANGKOK (Reuters) — Khmer Rouge guerrillas said they have cut crucial Cambodian government supply routes to the northwest as fighting intensifies in the country three months after the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops.

Officials of the Khmer Rouge's two non-Communist allies said they may now aim for a full military victory rather than a political settlement with the government in Phnom Penh, which was installed by Hanoi.

Khmer Rouge attacks along Route 5 isolated government garrisons in the western province capitals of Sisophon and Battambang from the capital on Tuesday, officials of the non-Communist wing of the guerrillas said Wednesday.

### Ethiopian Insurgents Capture Base

NAIROBI (NYT) — In a significant setback for the Ethiopian government, Tigre rebels have captured a major military base and two other towns, the rebels and Western diplomats in Addis Ababa said Wednesday.

Fighting escalated in the Ethiopian civil war last week after talks between the Tigre People's Liberation Front and the government in Rome ended inconclusively. Participants made some progress on procedural issues but were combative in tone. Talks are to begin in March, diplomats said.

The insurgents gained in Gondar and Shoa provinces; the latter is particularly significant because Addis Ababa is situated there. The rebels said they had overrun Debra Tabor, a military base near the city of Gondar that is thought to house about 10,000 Ethiopian troops.

### Aylwin Loses Congressional Majority

SANTIAGO (Reuters) — President-elect Patricio Aylwin lost his congressional majority Wednesday when the Supreme Court named three more conservatives to the upper house.

The appointments give 25 of the 47 Senate seats to conservative parties and groups close to the outgoing military government, which is empowered to veto legislation proposed by the future civilian administration. Mr. Aylwin, 71, was elected earlier this month with 55 percent of the vote, and his center-left coalition won nearly 60 percent of the seats being disputed in the upper and lower chambers of the legislature.

But under an article of the military-designed constitution, the outgoing government and the Supreme Court can appoint nine members to the Senate before the formal hand-over of power. Mr. Aylwin, the first civilian president since 1973, has pledged a series of changes to the constitution to make it more democratic.

### A Geneva Bank Frees Marcos Funds

ZURICH (Combined Dispatches) — The Philippines has secured from a Geneva bank \$2.13 million deposited in 1986 in the name of an associate of Ferdinand E. Marcos as the first installment of several hundred million dollars that the country has alleged Mr. Marcos held there illegally, a lawyer representing the Manila government said on Wednesday.

The sum is a small fraction of the cache — estimates range from \$200 million to \$600 million — the government suspects Mr. Marcos and his associates deposited illegally in Switzerland before he was removed as president.

In Manila, rebellion charges were filed Wednesday against two retired generals, Felix Brawner and Jaime Echeverria, in connection with the coup attempt Dec. 1-7 against President Corason C. Aquino. Rebellion carries a penalty ranging from six months to 12 years. (Reuters, UPI)

### Israeli Foray in Lebanon Reported

BEIRUT (Reuters) — The Islamic Resistance, a coalition of pro-Israeli groups that includes Hezbollah (Party of God), said Israeli-backed militiamen supported by Israeli troops attacked their positions in southern Lebanon on Wednesday. There was no independent confirmation of the report.

A statement by the group said the pro-Israeli South Lebanon Army militia backed by Israeli tanks and troops tried to overrun their positions in Jabal Safi on the edge of Israel's self-declared security zone. It gave no details of the outcome of the fighting or whether there were any casualties.

The attack came less than 24 hours after Israeli ground and air forces launched two separate raids on Lebanese Communist Party bases in the area in which 10 persons were killed and 24 were wounded.

### For the Record

Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany and President Francois Mitterrand of France will meet Jan. 4 at Mr. Mitterrand's house in southwestern France, it was announced Wednesday. (Reuters)

India has lost 1,120 soldiers in Sri Lanka in its military attempt to disarm Tamil guerrillas, the minister of external affairs, Indira Kumar Gujral, said Wednesday. Indian troops were sent to Sri Lanka under an accord in July 1987 designed to end a campaign for Tamil separatism. India still has 25,000 to 30,000 troops in Sri Lanka and Colombo has urged New Delhi to complete the pullout by Dec. 31. (AFP)

## TRAVEL UPDATE

A Norwegian airliner carrying 43 passengers made an emergency landing at Sola, in western Norway, on Wednesday with a fire in one engine and part of the landing gear stuck, the police said. One person was slightly injured. (Reuters)

British Airways will resume its twice-weekly flights to Argentina on Jan. 20 for the first time in eight years, it said Wednesday. The airline, then owned by the British government, canceled service to Buenos Aires after Britain and Argentina went to war in 1982 over the Falklands. (AP)

A commuter plane skidded off a runway in Washington state on takeoff and crashed, killing all five persons aboard, authorities said. The United Express airliner crashed as it was starting to leave Tri-Cities Airport, about 180 miles southeast (290 kilometers) of Seattle. (AFP)

## WEATHER

EUROPE				ASIA			
	HIGH	LOW	P		HIGH	LOW	P
Amsterdam	14	4	0	Bangkok	28	24	0
Antwerp	13	3	0	Beijing	1	-1	0
Berlin	12	2	0	Hong Kong	24	20	0
Brussels	11	1	0	Manila	28	24	0
Copenhagen	10	0	0	New Delhi	24	20	0
Dublin	10	0	0	Singapore	28	24	0
Frankfurt	11	1	0	Taipei	24	20	0
Geneva	12	2	0	Tokyo	16	12	0
London	11	1	0				
Madrid	12	2	0	AFRICA			
Munich	13	3	0	Algiers	17	13	0
Nice	14	4	0	Cape Town	22	18	0
Paris	13	3	0	Conakry	22	18	0
Rome	14	4	0	Lagos	26	22	0
Stockholm	10	0	0	Nairobi	20	16	0
Vienna	12	2	0	Reykjavik	12	8	0
Zurich	13	3	0	LATIN AMERICA			
				Buenos Aires	27	23	0
				Lima	28	24	0
				Medan	27	23	0
				Rio de Janeiro	24	20	0
				Sao Paulo	24	20	0
				NORTH AMERICA			
				Acapulco	27	23	0
				Albuquerque	27	23	0
				Boston	27	23	0
				Chicago	21	17	0
				Dallas	19	15	0
				Denver	14	10	0
				Detroit	17	13	0
				Honolulu	28	24	0
				Los Angeles	20	16	0
				Los Angeles	20	16	0
				Miami	21	17	0
				Minneapolis	20	16	0
				Montreal	20	16	0
				New York	22	18	0
				Pasadena	22	18	0
				San Francisco	13	9	0
				Seattle	13	9	0
				Toronto	13	9	0
				Washington	11	7	0
				Yokohama	1	-1	0

MIDDLE EAST							
Amman	20	16	12	54	no	ci	no
Cairo	18	14	10	54	no	ci	no
Tel Aviv	18	14	10	54	no	ci	no
JAPAN							
Osaka	18	14	10	54	no	ci	no
Tokyo	18	14	10	54	no	ci	no
CANADA							
Calgary	18	14	10	54	no	ci	no
Edmonton	18	14	10	54	no	ci	no
Halifax	18	14	10	54	no	ci	no
Montreal	18	14	10	54	no	ci	no
Ottawa	18	14	10	54	no	ci	no
Quebec	18	14	10	54	no	ci	no
Regina	18	14	10	54	no	ci	no
Saskatoon	18	14	10	54	no	ci	no
Winnipeg	18	14	10	54	no	ci	no
Yukon	18	14	10	54	no	ci	no

THURSDAY FORECAST							
12-20	LONDON:	Fair.	Terms. 8-14	12-20	PARIS:	Foggy.	Terms. 10-16
12-20	PARIS:	Foggy.	Terms. 10-16	12-20	AMSTERDAM:	Foggy.	Terms. 10-16
12-20	AMSTERDAM:	Foggy.	Terms. 10-16	12-20	BRUSSELS:	Foggy.	Terms. 10-16
12-20	BRUSSELS:	Foggy.	Terms. 10-16	12-20	COPENHAGEN:	Foggy.	Terms. 10-16
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12-20	NICE:	Foggy.	Terms. 10-16	12-20			



## U.S. Tries To Seize Loyalists

### Units in Panama Move to Country

By Molly Moore  
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — U.S. forces have begun moving into the rural, western provinces of Panama, attempting to rout remaining pockets of armed supporters of General Manuel Antonio Noriega and to confiscate arms thought to be hidden in the region, according to military officials.

Clearing the western region was one of the final military missions planned by U.S. officials after the assault in Panama began Dec. 20, the Defense Department officials said.

"U.S. troops are moving west in several operations to check the countryside," said a Pentagon spokesman, Pete Williams. "They are meeting with very little resistance."

Meanwhile, a military shift is carrying 1,200 tons of food, medical supplies and blankets each day to Panama.

Mr. Williams said Tuesday that the armed forces were sending enough food to Panama to feed "three meals a day to 50,000 people for seven days."

In addition, the Defense Department is providing 31 tons of medical supplies and 10,000 blankets and sheets, according to the spokesman.

After a Christmas visit to the U.S. troops in Panama, Defense Secretary Dick Cheney said Tuesday that the country was returning to normal, though sporadic sniper fire continued in Panama City.

Mr. Cheney said that the situation was far better "than it was just a few days ago."

U.S. officials have not said when the Panama operation will end.

But Mr. Cheney said that some troops from the 82d Airborne based in Fort Bragg, North Carolina, may begin returning to the United States soon.

Even so, more than 5,000 of the 26,000 U.S. troops in Panama remained on patrol in Panama City, the officials said. Almost 1,000 former members of the Panamanian Defense Forces have joined the country's new police force and are assisting the U.S. military patrols, according to administration officials.

The United States has also dispatched 142 members of the special forces "civil affairs" units to assist the new Panamanian government in establishing public services, police forces and other administrative structures, the Pentagon officials said.

### 250 Civilian Casualties

In one of the first official U.S. estimates of civilian casualties in the intervention, a U.S. Southern Command spokesman said Wednesday that U.S. doctors had counted 250 bodies in Panama City hospitals, Reuters reported from Panama City.

"There were persons buried in a common grave who did not go through the hospital and others who died on the street and were not identified or counted before being buried," the spokesman said. The estimates of military deaths remained unchanged Wednesday, at 297 Panamanians and 23 Americans.

### BUSH: President Insists He Is Still Intending to Bring Noriega to Justice

(Continued from page 1)

gaged in complicated negotiations to extract General Noriega from the Vatican embassy, where he sought refuge Dec. 24.

In his first remarks to reporters since General Noriega sought sanctuary, Mr. Bush said he was worried that General Noriega could still be a threat to the fledgling Endara government as long as he remains in Panama.

"That would concern me, yes, unless he were in total custody and sentenced to the prison sentence he deserves," Mr. Bush said.

Or, as Mr. Bush's press secretary, Martin Fitzwater, put it on the plane: "We want him here, because he would just cause trouble wherever he goes."

Mr. Fitzwater added that Mr. Noriega "can talk about the CIA and Bush until he is blue in the face. It won't hurt anything. We want him in a nice jail cell here where we can keep an eye on him."

Mr. Bush acknowledged that "serious negotiations" will be required if the Endara government fights to keep the general and put him on trial in Panama.

"I think that would require a lot of consultation, because we don't want to do anything that implies undermining the sovereign power of Panama," he said. "That's not the way it appears to be leaning, but I wouldn't want to go against the will of the Endara government."

Mr. Bush said that he has not telephoned the Pope or Monsignor José Sebastián Laboa, the papal nuncio in Panama, to request that General Noriega be turned over to the U.S. troops ringing the nunciature.

Mr. Bush refused to be drawn into any criticism of the Vatican. He said he has put "no time limit" on how long he will fight to extract General Noriega from the Vatican embassy.

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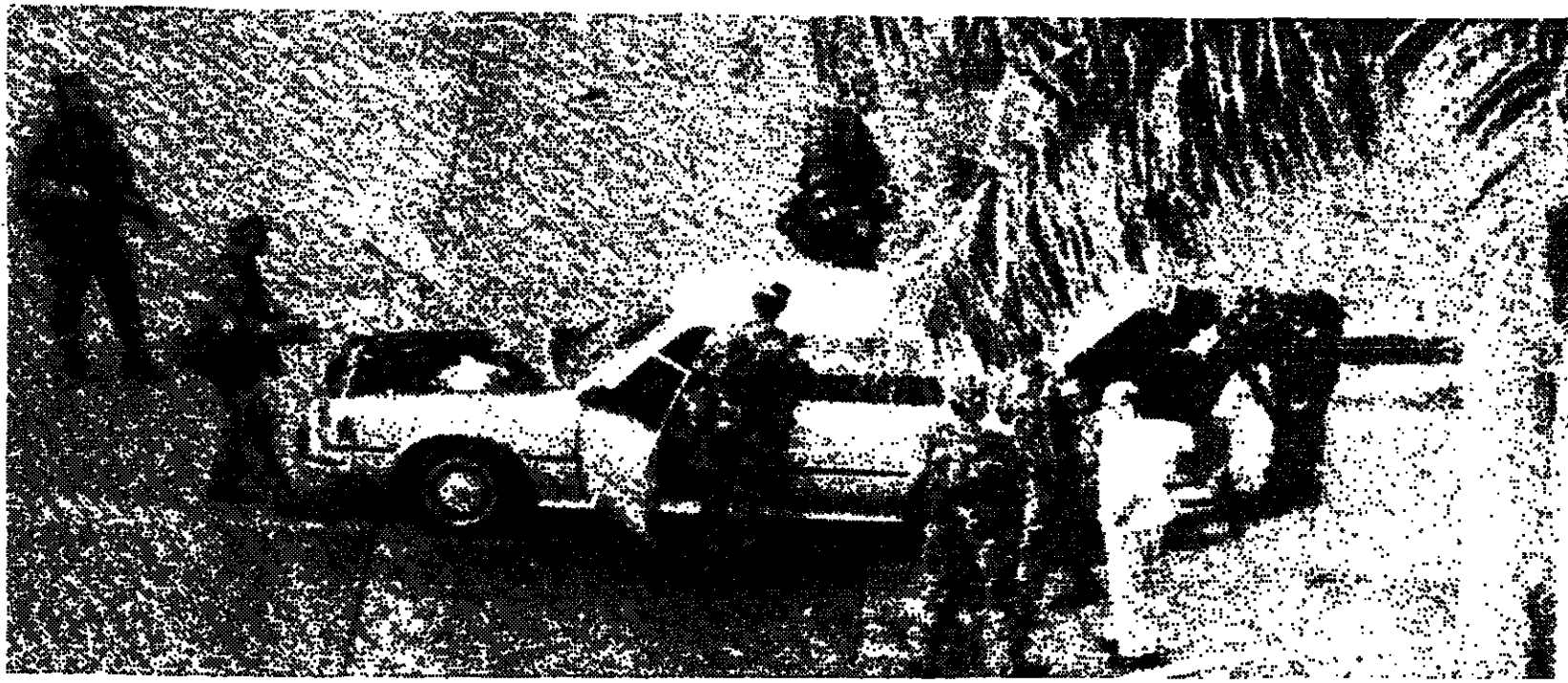
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American soldiers searching the car of the papal nuncio, José Sebastián Laboa, in white shirt, after he left the grounds of his mission in Panama City on Wednesday.

## Many Panamanians Cheer and Aid U.S. Soldiers

By William Branigin  
Washington Post Service

PANAMA CITY — In scenes not usually associated with an invaded country, U.S. troops have been cheered and applauded as they roll through Panama City streets. Panamanians have given them presents, brought them food and drinks and passed on information about arms caches and supporters of General Manuel Antonio Noriega.

Many Panamanians have been turning in weapons to U.S. forces to collect rewards ranging from \$150 for assault rifles to \$5,000 for large arms caches. One man drove an armored personnel carrier to a site where the new government was being formed to request his reward.

Tips led U.S. forces Sunday to raid a house in a suburb of the capital where General Noriega had been hiding, only to find that he had fled, U.S. officials said.

Near one of General Noriega's houses in the Altos del Golf neighborhood, tips by residents led to the capture Tuesday of Lieutenant Colonel Aquilino Siero, who is General Noriega's brother-in-law and a member of his general staff. Neighbors also have pointed out the houses of other associates of General Noriega to U.S. forces.

The U.S. Southern Command said Wednesday that American forces have detained more than 4,400 Panamanian troops and civilians and seized 40,190 weapons, 36 armored vehicles, 36 aircraft and 7 boats.

People in the slums of Chorrillo, where General Noriega's headquarters was located, generally do not blame the fires that swept through their neighborhood on the Americans, but on General Noriega's Panama Defense Forces and his Dignity Battalions.

Ismael Berrio, 26, a Chorrillo resident who witnessed the fighting from his rundown apartment building, said the American troops fired only at the Defense Forces headquarters. He and other residents said it was General Noriega's forces that set the tenements ablaze, either deliberately or with errant tracer bullets.

As people tried to flee the area in response to appeals by U.S. forces over loudspeakers, Mr. Berrio said, some members of the Dignity Battalions and the Defense Forces' staunchly pro-Noriega Machos de Monte Company opened fire on them, yelling that they were traitors for trying to escape to the nearby Panama Canal sector.

"We knew this had to happen sooner or later," Mr. Berrio said. "The sad part is that we lost everything—our

house, our furniture, our clothes and some of our friends." Nevertheless, children now run up to U.S. soldiers in Mr. Berrio's old neighborhood and ask for the American-flag patches they wear on their sleeves.

At General Noriega's Altos del Golf house—where his name is written in blue tile on a stone entrance pillar—Lieutenant Louis Ortiz of the U.S. 82d Airborne Division said he and his men have been overwhelmed by displays of popular support.

"We haven't had to order any chow from supply channels because they feed us so much here," Lieutenant Ortiz said. Minutes earlier, Panamanians had brought fresh bread still hot from the oven. For Christmas, he said, he and his men were served hot dinners of chicken and rice.

Perhaps the greatest display of support the paratroopers have received came during the Dec. 20 landing on a beach near the hotel, when a number of the heavily laden soldiers jumped out of helicopters and got stuck in a mud flat.

"Some guys were in up to their chests," said Sergeant John McNair, 23, of Fayetteville, North Carolina. But local residents came to the rescue, he said, throwing ropes to the soldiers and pulling them out of the mud while a firefight was going on.

## More About Noriega: He Wore Red Underwear

By Joseph B. Treaster  
New York Times Service

PANAMA CITY — The U.S. military headquarters here, which has pictured General Manuel Antonio Noriega as an erratic, cocaine-smoking dictator who prays to voodoo gods, has now announced that the deposed leader wore red underwear to ward off "the evil eye" and availed himself of prostitutes.

In a two-and-a-half-page report describing the general as a "truly evil man," the military command, headed by General Maxwell R. Thurman, pressed on with a highly unusual campaign to denigrate an enemy of Washington.

Many Panamanians despise General Noriega, a longtime intelligence officer and once a collaborator with the Central Intelligence Agency. He unleashed club-wielding thugs on his critics and has been accused of funneling government revenues to his personal use.

In early 1988 he was indicted on drug-trafficking charges in the United States.

What inspired the military statement Tuesday, purportedly based on interviews "with numerous former" Panamanian military officers and laced with moralistic commentary, was not clear.

At one point the U.S. statement said, "Sources called him a conditioned drinker." It added that at the start of the American invasion, "Noriega's first action was not to call his wife, but rather his mistress, Vicky Amado, and her family."

"According to our sources," the statement continued, "he never attempted to call his wife."

The high command said General Noriega was never in command of Panama's Defense Forces during the battle "because he was too busy trying to save his own skin."

Mr. Williams added: "When he finally got to the Vatican's embassy there in Panama City, he was said to be so exhausted from the chase that he could barely speak."

Another Pentagon official said General Noriega was "moving about" during the invasion and narrowly avoided capture on Sunday when 82d Airborne Division troops raided a house in which he was thought to be hiding.

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The four encountered barricades that local residents had placed and decided to seek reinforcements.

A team of 25 soldiers then set out to try to capture the general. By the time they got to the house, he had fled by helicopter.

General Noriega was in no position to command Panamanian forces after the U.S. military began its attack last week, Pentagon officials said. He arrived at the Papal Nunciature on Sunday in a state of exhaustion after barely escaping capture by American troops.

The Pentagon's portrait of the general's activities during the invasion contrasts with suggestions made Friday by General Thurman that the Panamanian might have been directing hit-and-run strikes against U.S. forces.

The account of General Noriega's days on the run is based in part on an interrogation of one of his bodyguards, who turned himself in to U.S. officials, said the Pentagon spokesman, Pete Williams.

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## Invasion Shocks Nicaragua Leaders

### They Fear International Reaction Brings Them Nearer Noriega's Fate

By Mark A. Uhlig  
New York Times Service

MANAGUA — The U.S. attack on Panama has left Nicaraguan leaders shocked and deeply frustrated by what they see as a weak international reaction to the kind of direct military action they have long feared against their own government, Sandinista officials say.

Since the U.S. strike, Nicaraguan officials have angrily condemned the overthrow of General Manuel Antonio Noriega, who had been a recent close friend and regional ally of the Sandinista leadership.

They have also staged a mobilization of their own armed forces and published daily details of what for public consumption they describe as a heroic resistance by Noriega loyalists in Panama.

But in interviews and public statements, Sandinista leaders have described the U.S. assault as a bitter lesson in regional power politics. And government strategists have expressed deep frustration and pessimism about the realities of Nicaragua's own vulnerability to a similar attack.

"If there were an invasion here," said Bayardo Arce Castañeda, a member of the nine-man Sandinista Directorate, "no matter how much other countries might want to help us resist and survive, they couldn't do it, because we don't have any friendly borders and because the United States controls the seas."

Asked how the Soviet Union, once seen as the superpower patron of the Sandinistas, might respond to a U.S. attack against Nicaragua, Mr. Arce said flatly, "The only response would be a protest."

The pessimistic Nicaraguan response has been widely viewed as a reflection of slackening Soviet support for the Sandinista government, a trend that is expected to be accelerated by the recent changes in Eastern Europe.

Since the beginning of 1989, Soviet leaders have declared a suspension of all direct arms shipments to Nicaragua, and U.S. intelligence officials estimate that total military aid received by the Sandinista government has fallen by 20 percent.

Since the attack on Panama, Nicaraguan officials have made a point of parading their military equipment as a show of readiness.

At one point, they surrounded the U.S. Embassy with tanks and armored cars to dramatize their concern about the presence of U.S. forces outside the Nicaraguan Embassy in Panama City. And they have asserted that the U.S. intervention has vindicated their desire for a strong military.

After the U.S. invasion of Grenada in 1983, foreign experts note, the Sandinista military took broad new efforts to prepare itself for an invasion that many of its leaders believed was inevitable.

When disgruntled officers attempted a coup against General Noriega early in October, Nicaragua was widely reported to have sent secret shipments of arms to help shore up his government.

But with limited military resources and little direct means to influence the current Panamanian situation, the Nicaraguan leadership has been left with few options other than symbolic protests through international organizations.

Foreign experts say that the Sandinista officials now believe that the best they can hope for is to use the attack on Panama to reinforce the nationalistic themes of their campaign in elections scheduled for February 1990.

Asserting that thousands of Panamanians have died in the fighting, official Nicaraguan press accounts have routinely described the action as "genocidal" and have said that the American soldier whose death precipitated the strike was killed while attacking Panamanian troops from his civilian car.

The underlying object of the U.S. strike, the official accounts say, has been the abrogation of the Panama Canal treaties and continued American control of the waterway, something the accounts say the American-backed government of Guillermo Endara has agreed to concede as an act of gratitude for being brought to power.

Official Sandinista news outlets have focused in particular on a statement last week by Nicaragua's chief opposition coalition, the National Opposition Union, criticizing any intervention in the affairs of a foreign country but denouncing General Noriega as a usurper and drug trafficker.

Referring to the new American-backed Panamanian government as a carbon copy of the Nicaraguan opposition, Sandinista officials have asserted that the National Opposition Union, known as UNO, is a stalking horse for a future American takeover of Nicaragua.

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# Herald Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

## Romania Starts Anew

"The sentence was definitive and was carried out." So ended the announcement on Romanian radio of the Christmas Day execution by firing squad of Nicolae Ceausescu and his wife. It is hard to feel pity for the Communist autocrat responsible for the wanton massacre of his ill-used people. Yet summary justice is a treacherous substitute for rule of law.

What had been a jubilant nonviolent march to freedom in Communist Europe lost its innocence in Romania. The riddled bodies of this unloved couple made a grisly television spectacle. Now, valiant Romanian revolutionaries need to turn from vengeance to reconstruction.

However grisly and regrettable, the definitive sentence sprang from a definitive deed. Faced with a popular uprising, Mr. Ceausescu gave his feared security police a license to kill. The result was the worst bloodletting in Europe since World War II. Tens of thousands are believed to have died in chaotic street battles, which may now be shortened by the tyrant's death.

The task of ending the slaughter, healing the wounded and starting anew falls on an improvised provisional regime. Food and medicine are already pouring in from East and West. But the more formidable burden

will be political: To build belief in rule of law, to resist poisonous ethnic quarrels and to nourish a freer political order after four decades of one-party absolutism.

Romania's provisional government is made up of an untested coalition of intellectuals and party dissidents, backed by senior army commanders. It inherits an economy bankrupted by years of negative growth, collapsing trade and megalomaniac central planning. The prompt lifting of Western trade sanctions, imposed as a response to Mr. Ceausescu's abuses, can provide some relief. But that can only be a beginning.

Despite the bloodbath and privation, there are grounds for hope. Romania can look for solidarity with other former one-party states struggling on the same path. And in Mikhail S. Gorbachev's Soviet Union, the media greet Romania's uprising as a "revolution," not a counterrevolution.

Looking further, the new leaders in Bucharest and elsewhere may glimpse an interesting truth: China, which enthusiastically supported Mr. Ceausescu and whose leaders said nothing about his Tiananmen-style massacres, has now recognized his successors. Even Beijing's hard-liners concede their way did not work in Romania.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

## The Lithuanian Tangle

The news of Nicolae Ceausescu's execution shows what can happen to brutal dictators who prefer to go on killing and denying freedom to people in Eastern Europe. Fortunately for the people of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev is a leader who prefers to bargain peacefully with those who rightly seek more freedom and autonomy.

Mr. Gorbachev opposes the Lithuanian Communist Party's declaration of independence from Moscow. But while he warns of dark consequences, he has not uttered a final no and still searches for compromise.

The Soviet leader can sidestep a showdown by recalling what he told the United Nations a year ago: "Freedom of choice is a universal principle which allows no exceptions." He has put that principle into practice in much of Eastern Europe. Why not in Lithuania and other Baltic republics?

Mr. Gorbachev's reforms encourage greater independence. But little holds his country together except the army, which is loath to use, and the party. If others follow the Lithuanian lead and form independent Communist parties or vote non-Communists into power, the party would cease to be a unifying force, and armed force alone would remain to hold his nation together.

Mr. Gorbachev needs time for economic restructuring to pay political dividends

and renew party support. In the meantime he needs a semblance of party unity. That is why he is not yet prepared to end the party's leading role in politics and policymaking, and expose it to opposition parties in free and fair elections.

But Lithuania's Communist Party cannot wait. It has been losing support rapidly. To salvage its tattered mandate, it voted overwhelmingly to renounce its leading role and face a new election set for Feb. 24. To survive those elections as a political force, it now declares independence from the Soviet Communist Party and also urges eventual independence for Lithuania.

Old-line Communists say this amounts to destroying the party in order to save it. Since they still hold a sizable bloc of seats in the Supreme Soviet in Moscow, Mr. Gorbachev wants to postpone the issue. In the meantime, he may try to round up Communist loyalists to run in the Lithuanian elections. If, as expected, they fare poorly, that could advance the cause of party reform.

With the conspicuous exception of Romania, Communists across Eastern Europe have conceded freedoms to try to hold onto some power. Lithuania should not become another exception.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

## Reform in Yugoslavia

In a daring attempt to rescue Yugoslavia from economic crisis, the government is beginning a vast and difficult reorganization. Like Poland, Yugoslavia now becomes a laboratory in which the logic of drastic and rapid reform will be put to the test. But unlike Poland, Yugoslavia could, if things go badly, fall apart under the strain.

The country is a loose federation of republics with different languages, different traditions and, especially important, different levels of development. The regions in the northwest, once part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, are advanced by every measure of economic and cultural development. Serbia, the largest republic, is well behind them, and the southeast lags still further. New policies affect each republic differently and increase tensions among them.

For some months Prime Minister Ante Markovic has been easing Yugoslavia toward a market economy. But soaring inflation, which now runs more than 40 percent a month, persuaded him that the government has to move faster.

Last week, Mr. Markovic presented a series of proposals that, among other things, would make the currency convertible and peg it to the Deutsche mark.

His plan rebuilds the battered banking

system, ends the printing of money to meet public deficits and, if the republics allow it, gives the federal government for the first time a coherent macroeconomic policy. It also imposes wage restraints, and the response in Serbia was a protest strike.

The Serbian leadership has become aggressive recently and has begun to incite fears among the smaller republics that it intends to expand its power at their expense. — Mr. Markovic is Croatian — are anxious to join the wider trend of East European change, the Serbs resist.

Communism is proving to have a more durable grip on loyalties in those countries where it was neither imposed nor sustained by Soviet troops, and Yugoslavia is one of them. Slovenia and Croatia intend to hold free elections in the spring, but Serbia continues to insist on Communist leadership.

Mr. Markovic, in introducing his program, observed, "Inflation is not a purely economic phenomenon." The real crisis, he suggested, is rooted in the country's ethnic and regional rivalries. He has bravely set out to do battle not only with inflation but with that deeper menace as well.

—THE WASHINGTON POST

## Other Comment

### Panama: The Right Move?

General Noriega may have done the United States a favor by seeking sanctuary in the grounds of the Vatican mission to Panama. He has probably spared President Bush the embarrassment of putting him on trial. [Now] the question is whether the United States behaved properly by forcibly removing him from power. Washington's behavior in Latin America during the years has been clumsy. Many of Mr. Bush's predecessors developed obsessions with various parts of it, of which President Reagan's irrational hatred of the Nicaraguan Sandinistas is the most recent reminder.

Mr. Bush may have made a similar mistake by taking on General Noriega so aggressively. It will not win friends for the United States or for the new government it has installed in Panama, no matter how solid Washington's moral justification for removing a despot from power.

—The Age (Melbourne)

In Asia, interest in the Panamanian operation is greater than it might usually be. This is because it follows by less than a month the

fast and willing military help that Mr. Bush granted to President Corason Aquino of the Philippines under admittedly different circumstances. This latest incident leads logically to the question of how often Mr. Bush will approve such actions, and under what circumstances. If ever a "tin-horn dictator" needed overthrowing, it was General Noriega. But when the time arrives that a resort to arms is the chosen method of effecting change, outsiders should not wield the guns.

—The Bangkok Post

It is understandable that some [Americans] might be frustrated because General Noriega was not clamped in irons and shipped to Miami to await trial like any other drug suspect, and certainly efforts to bring him to the United States should continue. But if all efforts fail, it does not mean that the U.S. soldiers killed fighting to bring General Noriega down, or the hundreds of Panamanians who were killed in the fighting, or who were victims of dictatorship, died in vain. They will have a far greater tribute: a Panama that is a more truly free and just nation.

—The Los Angeles Times

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# OPINION

## Romania and Panama: Lessons of Expediency Abound

By Jim Hoagland

PARIS — The world's club of dictators lost two of its most prominent members over the Christmas holidays, thanks to American action and Soviet inaction. The downfalls of Manuel Antonio Noriega of Panama and Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania bring joy to those who oppressed and make the world a better place for the New Year.

The reigns of General Noriega and Mr. Ceausescu resembled each other in ways beyond the obvious common tyranny and criminality. Each was conceived in and sustained by the expediency shown by outside powers, who were happy to praise and support these unsavory characters as long as it served "larger" purposes.

Only when it became useful for Washington and Moscow to see them done in did the two fall. Only when Mr. Ceausescu was overthrown did Queen Elizabeth II revoke the knighthood she foolishly awarded the butcher of Bucharest two years ago, and only then did Swiss banks close down his numbered accounts.

In a climate of expediency, successive U.S. administrations sought to build up Mr. Ceausescu as a useful maverick inside the Soviet system. Flagrant human-rights abuses were ignored by Washington in the name of realpolitik, just as in China. The massacres in the streets of Bucharest and Beijing this year testify to the sordid, dead-end nature of such policies.

The most puzzling result of the unplanned juxtaposition of the upheaval in Panama and Romania has been the effort by Secretary of State James Baker to equate U.S. and Soviet attitudes toward the two events. Mr. Baker's remarks, coming on the heels of being caught in an outright untruth about U.S. high-level contacts with China after the June massacre, suggest a continuing devotion to expediency in U.S. foreign policy that is troubling.

"Both the United States and the Soviet Union today are supporting democracy," Mr. Baker said last week in a stunning example of "moral equivalency," as conservatives once called comparisons of U.S. and Soviet actions in the world.

On Sunday, Mr. Baker added that he would support Soviet military action inside Romania, citing with approval remarks by the French foreign minister, Roland Dumas, who had said Warsaw Pact intervention "in the Soviet zone" would now be acceptable to the West.

For 40 years, the West condemned the Soviet betrayal of the Yalta accords that made Eastern Europe a zone of Soviet control. For 40 years, U.S. policy was to not "accept" politically the division of Europe into spheres, yet never physically challenge the Soviet ability to "restore

socialist order" in Eastern Europe. Mr. Baker and Mr. Dumas changed all that with a few phrases uttered for the television cameras.

This casual acceptance of Stalin's version of Yalta is especially puzzling so soon after Mr. Baker's brilliantly conceived and articulated declaration at the Berlin Press Club on the future of Europe. Perhaps it should be attributed to the evident humanitarian concern of Mr. Baker and Mr. Dumas. Both were appalled no doubt by the scale and ferocity of the bloodletting then occurring in Romania.

Mr. Baker's statements reveal that he and President George Bush now trust President Mikhail Gorbachev to a degree unimaginable before the Malta summit meeting. Soviet decisions to intervene or not intervene are working for democracy, says Mr. Baker; the Man of the Decade would not intervene in Romania for evil purposes, the senior U.S. diplomat assures us.

At the tactical level, the secretary was apparently seeking sympathy and even company for America's Panama adventure. If he had condemned an effort by Moscow to stop the battle for Bucharest, how could he then effectively praise Mr. Bush's decision to launch an operation that smashed what precious little order did exist in Panama, killed hundreds, made thou-

sands homeless and refurbished an image of the United States as a hemispheric bully. All to get rid of General Noriega?

In contrast, the Soviets calculated the immediate risks the Romanian uprising presented on their border and decided that taking on Romania's problems was not worth their involvement. It is an admission of weakness, part of a continuing preemptive surrender of Moscow's superpower status. But it was not foolish; Mr. Gorbachev is gambling that military weakness can be turned into regional political success, as the Soviet Union reshapes its relations with its neighbors in a more benign fashion.

The United States faces the task of preventing its undeniable military success from turning into a regional political failure. General Noriega's flight into the Vatican's embassy in Panama City frames the issue in miniature (and shows that General Noriega has lawyers smarter than the generals of Mr. Bush). The U.S. Army could conceivably shoot its way into the embassy, as it shot its way into Panama. But is the goal worth the costs of such drastic action? That question still dogs the entire U.S. operation.

Romanians can proudly say they did not need Mr. Gorbachev's help to change their destiny. It is an assertion that Mr. Bush has foreclosed for the Panamanians.

The Washington Post

## Will America Now Shed Its Ideological Blinders?

By William Pfaff

PARIS — The year ends in astonishment. An era of human suffering has come to a close in Europe, if not, alas, elsewhere. But Europe has been at the core of the world's larger unhappiness in this century, and now the political and moral devastations produced by Marxism, Leninism and the Bolshevik revolution, added to those of Fascism, Nazism and the two world wars, seem at last to have truly run their course.

Romania is freshly stunned by freedom. Only Albania, sealed in its hermetic world, eludes the general liberation. Liberation leads on to huge questions of reconstruction and healing in Eastern and Balkan Europe, and a solution for Germany's partition. These are welcome problems though, problems people can solve, given time.

Liberation leaves the Soviet Union in the dilemma of how to continue to be a unified Marxist state while abandoning the rest of the empire of Marxist states to liberal democracy — tacit invalidation of the principle of the Soviet Union's own existence. Mikhail Gorbachev is a great liberator, outside his own country. There is some reason to think that the Soviet government had a hand in the Romanian Army's crucial rally to the revolution: a revolution whose spokesmen (and now provisional president of Romania), Ion Iliescu, was a friend of Mr. Gorbachev as a young man.

Mr. Gorbachev is not a liberator at home because a true liberalization in the Soviet Union would produce multiparty government and an end to his

own authority to impose reform. Even this may be thought a good problem because it is a creative dilemma.

In the Soviet Union, people can actually say what they think, think things they would not have before thought, and responsibility has been accepted for past horrors. The best is being demanded of people — intelligence, sacrifice, responsibility.

The United States enters the 1990s standing apart. The Panamanian affair demonstrates that Americans still have not liberated themselves from the intellectual forces responsible for repeated failures of foreign policy over three decades, and for military defeats and frustration.

This condition has lasted since the 1950s, when what Washington had initially understood as the military and political threat of the Soviet Union in Europe was reinterpreted as a phenomenon of ideologically generated global danger.

The key development came when the alliance of Third World nationalism with "socialism" — a phenomenon of the postwar period — was allowed to draw the United States into a series of direct conflicts with that non-Western nationalism. Until the early 1950s, U.S. policy generally supported national movements, as in Indonesia, India, Egypt.

The victory of Mao Zedong in China and the outbreak of the Korean War caused Washington to see communism in Asia in a new way. The Communist-directed uprising in the French Indochina colonies (where the U.S. government had initially sympa-



By NICOLAE I. FOLLIS in Folio de Tard (São Paulo). C&W Syndicate.

thized with the nationalists) was reinterpreted as part of a centrally directed international communist offensive.

The sad chain of U.S. failures began: intervention in Indochina after the French left, in Cuba, and Iran, where the United States invested, without luck, in the anti-Communist modernization programs of the Shah. The United States intervened in Lebanon, and then in the Gulf, as a direct result of its humiliation in Iran.

America's predilection for carrying a big stick in Central America got mixed up with the anti-Communist

crusade, and a useless and frustrating little undeclared war with the Nicaraguan Sandinistas followed (a struggle in El Salvador thrown in), resulting in invention of the contras, Iranagate and CIA involvement with General Manuel Antonio Noriega as well as with a gallery of Noriega and Middle Eastern swindlers and fantasists.

A gross distortion of U.S. policy interests resulted from the Reagan administration's obsession with Nicaragua — a faithful re-enactment (with farcical elaborations) of the Kennedy administration's fate-

ful obsession with Fidel Castro. The intervention in Panama is the dead end of this: inefficiently brutal overreaction to a provocation that past American policy did much to bring about, ending amid the silent reproach of the uselessly dead.

Shakespeare wrote "O God! That men should put an enemy in their mouths to steal away their brains!" He had drink in mind; but ideology would do as well for Washington in the 1980s. Must it be so in the 1990s?

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## Asia's Economic Future Is Clouded by a Less-Than-Rosy Forecast

By Murray Seeger

SINGAPORE — In the midst of so much public optimism, it is difficult to suggest that the economic future of Asia is less than euphoric. Much of the region enjoyed an unprecedented boom during the last two decades and confidence for the next decade is high.

But there are enough clouds on the

horizon to warrant a more skeptical view. The "Century of Asia," imagined for the year 2000 and beyond, may have to be postponed.

There are both internal and external pressures that give pause to the more cheery forecasts.

Of immediate concern is the slowdown in the U.S. economy, the largest market for Asian goods. The confusion in China is also a serious impediment.

economic changes in Eastern Europe, a region previously of only marginal interest to Asians.

Asked recently if Western and Japanese investors might change their focus from Asia to Europe, a Singapore-based management consultant said, "You bet. Imagine that big market all on one land mass."

There has long been a dichotomy of opinion about Asia's long-range economic prospects between local plan-

ners and experts based in Europe, the United States or Japan. At the local level problems loom large that seem less important at longer range.

Although the smaller Asian countries have discussed diversifying their export markets, the United States continues to dominate their sales. And Japan maintains trade surpluses with most of the smaller countries.

Japanese companies are the biggest investors in Asia, but they have kept the best high-technology at home; their plants abroad are mostly of medium-level technology. Meanwhile, the four Asian "tigers" — Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan — need infusions of high-technology to counter a rapid rise in domestic labor costs.

One issue that many foreign experts have discounted in their estimates of economic potential is population policy. Hong Kong, Singapore and Taiwan are suffering shortages of workers, thus reducing their economic growth rates.

But both India, with more than 800 million people, and China, with more than 1.1 billion, have failed to control population growth, with each annually producing 16 to 17 million babies. Given this, real economic growth is very difficult.

In addition, population time bombs are ticking in Indonesia and the Philippines, where many young women are entering child-bearing age.

Nearly all Asian cities are heavily crowded and urban infrastructures are failing. Bangkok, Jakarta, Manila, Seoul and Taipei have daily traffic deadlocks.

India has developed a substantial middle class, but it represents only about 15 percent of the society. Poverty is endemic in the countryside and in the cities. Corruption at every level slows the country's administrative machinery.

Corruption also is a nagging issue in Malaysia and Indonesia. Both have attracted substantial new industrial investment because operating costs are lower than in Singapore, Hong Kong, Taiwan and South Korea.

Thailand continues to be a heavy investment favorite because of the substantial size of its domestic market, the large supply of low-paid labor and the position it occupies close to the potential growth areas of Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam.

The Philippines has enjoyed improved growth under the administration of Corason Aquino, but there is a persistent feeling that her government is not sufficiently in control to assure investors. Corruption also dogs the system.

Taiwan and South Korea are distracted by the growth pains of their young democracies. And younger

leaders are jockeying for positions to succeed President Schario of Indonesia and Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore.

In looking for alternative markets, the smaller Asian countries have been much slower than Japan to develop outlets in Europe. The Asians fear that their exports may be reduced by the single European market in 1993 and by closer economic ties between Canada and the United States over the next decade.

The per capita income of most East European countries, including the Soviet Union, is roughly the same as in such middle-level developing countries as Malaysia — about \$2,000 to \$3,000 a year.

But the East European market on average is richer than that of Asia. Indonesia, the Philippines and Thailand have national per capita incomes below \$1,000 a year, India and China under \$500.

Foreign investment money that could be used to build factories in the Far East may instead go to East Germany, Hungary and Poland as the process of political and economic change gathers speed.

The Asians, pushed by Australia, have made tentative moves toward closer cooperation in the Pacific region, but the area lacks the economic cohesion of Europe or North America. Until the sleeping giants of China and India are aroused, Asia will function below its potential.

The writer recently worked as a journalist in Singapore and has been a correspondent in Eastern and Western Europe and in Washington. He contributed this comment to the International Herald Tribune.

## 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

### 1889: Africa Surveyed

LONDON — The German East Africa Company has engaged Dr. Baumann to go to Zanzibar and make a topographical survey of the company's territories, with a view to drawing up a map of these regions. At present there exist only general maps without topographical details of the large territories owned by the German and British companies, and it is expected that the British Company will also soon take measure to prepare a good map of its possessions. Dr. Baumann will leave Trieste for Zanzibar early in January. He is already well known as an explorer, having made his first African voyage in 1885 as a companion to Dr. Oscar Lenz during a part of the latter's Congo expedition.

### 1914: Exhausted Vienna

ROME — According to the statement of a prominent diplomat in Vienna, the demand for peace is becoming increasingly insistent, not

only in Austria, but in South Germany. Austria-Hungary, defeated on two fronts, realizes she has been the cat's paw of Germany. Reports from Vienna state that prices there have gone up enormously and the wounded in the street are so numerous that no one takes notice of them any longer. Ramparts are being made round the city to meet the possibility of a raid by a column of Cossacks.

### 1939: Quake in Turkey

ISTANBUL — At least 9,000 persons were believed today (Dec. 28) to have been killed and many more thousands injured in the five-hour earthquake that rocked northeastern Turkey early yesterday, toppling mosques, crushing houses and setting whole towns on fire. Although the interruption of practically all telegraphic and telephonic service from the stricken regions makes detailed information unavailable, the disaster is already considered as the worst national calamity ever to befall Turkey.



## OPINION

## Baker Should Have Known Not to Attempt a Cover-Up

By William Safire

WASHINGTON — My first inkling that untruthfulness had become tolerable in the Bush administration came when I inquired why no high-level official was being sent by the United States to the funeral of Andrei Sakharov.

The vice president was prepared to go; the secretary of state was already in Europe; yet President Bush chose to send only the resident U.S. envoy.

A spokesman explained to me — on background — that the Sakharov family wanted it that way.

That was patently untrue. Yelena Bonner would hardly ask that the United States not make a fuss over her dead husband lest a major expression of respect embarrass Mikhail Gorbachev.

George Bush chose to play down U.S. concern for human rights; just as troubling was a decision to fake the reason.

The next evidence was Secretary of State James Baker's volunteered remark, on live television Dec. 10, that since the massacre in Beijing, the recent Scowcroft-Eagleburger trip to China was "the first time we've had high-level U.S. officials go to the People's Republic of China."

A week later, when Cable News Network disclosed that Brent Scowcroft had been dispatched to Beijing secretly only a few weeks after the massacre, we learned that Mr. Baker's assertion had been untrue — not an inaccuracy or a misstatement, but a statement made with intent to mislead.

Why did this experienced Washington hand so cavalierly jeopardize faith in the State Department's good word?

The answer he gave Sunday was "I was trying to protect the confidentiality of a classified presidential mission."

If he did mislead Americans, Mr. Baker added wistfully, "I only misled them for seven days."

That's not the way it works in the real world of protecting secrets.

With a life in danger — as when a hostage has a gun to his head — a lie is morally defensible. But government officials have no business lying about the public's business, even in the name of national security.

Instead, they have the obligation to refrain from saying all they know. The duty to conceal embraces no right to lie.

## Why Bother the People?

THE CHINA deception is in the tradition of not bothering pretty little American heads with things they don't understand. The administration carried on business as usual with Beijing, while the White House said we were doing the opposite, trying to calm Americans who got excited watching our Chinese friends slaughter their countrymen. There, there, this is too complicated for all of you — leave these big things to George.

— Syndicated columnist Richard Reeves.

In prospective military strikes, a zipped lip is respected. In economic affairs, if any Treasury secretary is asked to confirm rumors about a devaluation planned for the next day, he is obligated to keep his mouth shut lest speculators profit at taxpayers' expense.

The proper answer is not merely a refusal to answer, which seems to confirm, but an aggressive "What kind of dumb question is that? You know we never discuss such things."

James Baker has long had the rules of media engagement pasted in his hymnbook. In this China-trip case, he foolishly sought to avoid political embarrassment by pretending the president did not break his word about excluding high-level exchanges with Chinese leaders.

Maybe he thought nobody would find out about the first trip six months ago, a gamble that obviously failed to get results; the secretary now knows he blundered like the rankiest amateur. "I could simply have no-commented," he finally admitted in Haigpeak, "which is what I should have done."

Mr. Bush compounded the erosion of trust by getting tricky about the word "exchange." Asked inaccurately if he had not pledged no contact with Beijing, he pounced on a narrow interpretation of his word: "I said no exchange," he replied triumphantly, as if his dispatching of an envoy halfway around the world escaped the meaning of exchange.

That is like the president saying he had spoken to Americans with his fingers crossed.

Churchill used to say, "Nothing ranks like a trick." Baker and Mr. Bush have confused the need to keep one's mouth shut about diplomatic initiatives with the inclination to mislead to cover up embarrassments; the first protects secrets, the second subverts presidencies.

White House aides expect the departure from truth on China to be redeemed by free passage to the dissidents Fang Lizhi and wife and the jangling of the Voice of America (both already negotiated), as well as amnesty for all nonviolent demonstrators (a sticking point).

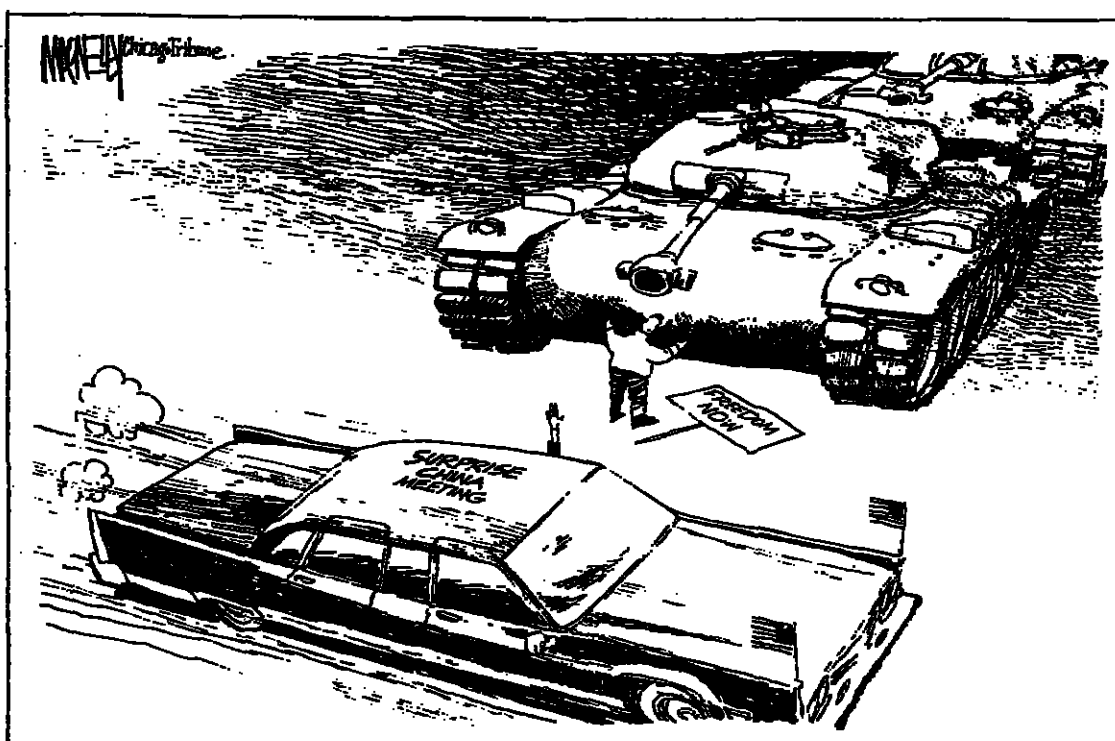
After aggressive acquiescence in secret produces results, Mr. Bush believes his finger-crossing will be forgiven.

He is mistaken; a reputation for duplicity clings.

Poetic justice just in: This writer has learned secondhand that Mr. Baker has been telling selected pundits and reporters — off the record — that he opposed the Scowcroft trips.

Ironically, of all the Bush men involved in the knowing to Deng Xiaoping, it is Mr. Baker — in publicly defending what he privately whispers he opposed — whose credibility has been most splattered and whose reputation for shrewdness has been most muddled.

The New York Times.



## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## A Blow to the Rule of Law

An article in your Dec. 18 issue ("U.S. Legal Rules Constrain Arms Overseas by the Military") states that the Bush administration has concluded that U.S. military forces have the legal authority to arrest drug traffickers, terrorists and other fugitives overseas. The idea that United States law — let alone a mere legal opinion by an official of the Justice Department — can legitimize the taking of prisoners abroad without the consent of the host country, be it by the armed forces, the FBI or other American law enforcement agencies is preposterous, to say the least.

It is not just a question of determining that no U.S. legal provision prohibits such action, something open to doubt in view of the fact that Article 6 of the U.S. Constitution proclaims treaties part of the supreme law of the land, that the United Nations charter is such a treaty and that it prohibits the use of force in international relations.

International law imposes restrictions on every state's freedom of action. The absolute right of the United States to sovereignty within its borders entails the correlative duty to abstain from performing so-called "acts of sovereignty" — such as taking a prisoner abroad — on the territory of another state. The principle applies even if the person is regularly arrested and charged with crimes against humanity. In 1960 the UN Security Council considered that even abduction of a notorious war criminal such as Adolf Eichmann from Argentina to Israel, there to be tried by Israeli courts, was an infringement of Argentine sovereignty.

Small-arms ammunition burns almost

instantaneously but does not explode like dynamite or plastic explosives. The floor area of a range, from the firing line to the butts, must be swept or vacuumed at least daily. Why? Not all the powder in a cartridge burns when fired. The unburned powder ends up on the floor of the range in front of the shooters. Eventually it will cover the floor, where it can be ignited by a bit of burning powder from one of the shooter's weapons.

Such stray powder burns fast enough to knock down walls and blow off the roof. The comment that neighbors saw people running from the building but heard no explosion is an indication of a rapid fire rather than an explosion. Fires of this type occurred on New York City Police Department ranges several years ago. Fortunately there were no deaths.

JOHN N. GAFFNEY, Hong Kong.

## In Defense of a Magazine

Regarding "The Anti-Anti-Communists Are in Furious Condition" (Opinion, Dec. 7) by George F. Will:

There are many in Europe, including myself, who consider The New Yorker magazine to be the source of some of the sanest, most informed and intelligent commentary today on both world and American affairs. Mr. Will may rub his hands in delight at the rumored "parlous financial condition" of The New Yorker and hope for its demise; for many of its regular readers and for the image of the United States, this would be calamitous.

JEANNE VICKERS, Geneva.

## A Shooting-Range Risk

In response to the report "Range Blast Kills 12 in Brussels" (Dec. 4):

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instantaneously but does not explode like dynamite or plastic explosives. The floor area of a range, from the firing line to the butts, must be swept or vacuumed at least daily. Why? Not all the powder in a cartridge burns when fired. The unburned powder ends up on the floor of the range in front of the shooters. Eventually it will cover the floor, where it can be ignited by a bit of burning powder from one of the shooter's weapons.

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JEANNE VICKERS, Geneva.

## For Romanians, a Legacy Of Graft and Bad Leaders

By C. L. Sulzberger

LONDON — A Russian czar once sneered: "Romania is not a country, it's a profession." The dictatorial regime of Nicolae Ceausescu added little luster to the nation's reputation. On the contrary, his arrogant reign confirmed the Balkan proverb: "The fish stinks from the head first."

I once asked General Hans Speidel, who became chief of staff for the German Field Marshal Erwin Rommel,

MEANWHILE

about the mixed Axis contingents he had commanded during World War II. "Which among all the non-German troops were the best soldiers — the Finns, the Croats, the Hungarians?"

"None of them," he replied. "The Romanians. Give them good leadership and they are as good as any you'll find."

Leadership, morality and wisdom at the top have long been a problem for the handsome, sturdy people of the lovely land stretching between Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, the Black Sea and the Soviet Union. Despite the talent and intelligence of the Romanian people, fate has rarely, if ever, decreed that they should be well governed or properly led.

In an odd interpretation of democracy, King Carol II, who died in 1933, once assured me that "Romanians are truly democratic because the peasants uncover their heads and clutch their forelocks when I pass." When he fled Romania in 1940, he took with him considerable personal wealth and his mistress, Magda Lupescu.

I have known Romania for 50 years and have found most of its leaders lazy, crooked, unreliable and avaricious. Although Romanians are a strong people, their foppish military officers gave the armed forces a dismal reputation.

During World War I, when Romanian commanders fled the battlefield at Marasesti, the peasantry, abandoned by its officers, chewed up attacking German divisions.

Graft was and is the great leaven. An official I met in 1939 pulled open his desk drawer, which was filled with foreign currency, and sought to bribe me.

When I declined, he asked what black-market rate I was receiving for my dollars. I told him what the hotel porter was offering, and he scoffed indignantly: "Why, that man's a crook. I'll give you 15 percent more."

Romania deserved to have a revolution, but not the one it got. In September 1940, I accompanied a Hungarian army of occupation that was intent on seizing the contested province of Transylvania. There was no resistance, except verbal, and I even took Felix, my wire-haired fox terrier, along to watch the "victory" parade in Cluj, the provincial capital.

The Hungarian chief of state, Admiral

Nicholas Horthy de Nagybanya, wore his World War I uniform and rode proudly on a broad-backed white horse.

Later in 1940 I entered that part of southern Romania called Dobruja, which had been awarded by Hitler to his Bulgarian allies. Again the Romanians did not resist, even when hodge-podge cavalry got out of hand as a priest's horse bolted.

When the occupation ended, there was a parade at which the new Bulgarian mayor proclaimed: "Now let us hope that our country will be enriched not only by golden Dobruja but also soon by the level plains of Thrace and the blue Aegean."

The Balkan peoples have both vitality and durability, qualities especially true of the Romanians.

The first time I met Mr. Ceausescu was in 1966, in the Transylvanian town of Alba Iulia. It was early in his rule, but even then he struck me as a cocky, obnoxious little man.

I was accompanied from Bucharest by a foreign ministry interpreter. We arrived as Mr. Ceausescu was finishing a flamboyant address that was being broadcast on national television. The interpreter led me to the leader, who was flanked by two huge guards, and told me that Mr. Ceausescu had "never seen a non-Communist journalist before."

Mr. Ceausescu regarded me with unabashed curiosity and then ended his peroration: "We expressed our position on European security at the Warsaw Pact conference that was held in Bucharest this summer. Everyone is familiar with our position. Essentially it is that European countries should be allowed to solve their own problems without any interference from non-Europeans."

I asked if by this he meant the United States.

"Yes," he answered. "The U.S.A. is not European. How would you feel if Europe demanded a right to decide America's future? What right have you here?"

I replied: "Well, we came over twice to save Europe, including Romania, to liberate it. I think that gives us some right. Many Americans were killed to defeat the Nazis, after all."

"America lost fewer soldiers in World War II than Romania," Mr. Ceausescu retorted.

"Mr. Ceausescu, you must remember that we fought only on one side," I said, alluding to the fact that Romania first fought with the Nazis and then joined forces with the Soviet Union, in 1944. I then nudged the interpreter, adding, "Be sure and translate that."

When he did so, there were many ill-disguised smiles, especially on the faces of the two giants flanking the little leader.

The writer is a retired columnist for The New York Times.

## GENERAL NEWS

## Storm Warnings in U.S.-Japan Relations

By Patrick L. Smith

TOKYO — Having emerged as a world power in the 1980s, Japan now faces the task of finding a new balance in its economic and trade relationships with the United States — a task officials and economists on both sides of the Pacific view as urgent if the "global partnership" envisioned in Tokyo and Washington is to succeed.

Japanese officials now display unusual anxiety over a range of bilateral trade issues. With-

First of two articles

out quick action in 1990, it will be difficult to avoid renewed friction. Reflecting this, the powerful finance and trade ministries have announced new initiatives on trade almost daily in recent weeks.

Underlying these steps is a deep concern that Japan's trade surplus with the United States, despite progress elsewhere, is falling only minimally and could worsen dramatically as early as next year. It remains unclear, however, whether Tokyo is engaged in a concentrated public relations campaign or something more substantial than that.

In part, this climate of unease signals an awareness among Japanese officials that Tokyo and Washington "are entering the most intensive period of trade negotiations in the history of their relationship," as one Western diplomat asserted.

But it also reflects a growing recognition here — although it is not universally shared — of the need for a fundamental new direction in bilateral ties. The problems that linger, some Japanese policymakers are concluding, are increasingly dangerous features of a relationship that cannot continue on its present path.

Japan also faces difficult political and strategic questions: Most broadly, how will it fit into the new world order taking shape in Eastern Europe and between the Soviet Union and the United States?

Such issues have begun to fuel intense debate among Tokyo's policy planners.

It is widely accepted among Japanese officials, however, that questions of trade and economic interdependence will finally determine whether Tokyo and Washington succeed or fail in advancing ties as the 1990s unfold.

"We have until the middle of the next decade to find a new equilibrium, new ways of cooperating that take account of the changed realities of our relationship," a Foreign Ministry official said. "If we fail by then, we face a debacle."

Many economists and officials suggest that the timetable is even shorter than that. There are already strong indications that the United States will emerge as the loser in Japan's long effort to correct its worldwide imbalances in trade. Under current conditions, these sources believe, it will be a year or two at most before what is now a static surplus with the United States begins to grow again.

Japan is now expected to report a drop of almost 20 percent in its global merchandise surplus this year, to about \$77 billion. And for the United States, slower domestic demand and increased exports are expected to contribute to a decline of 15 percent or so in the overall trade deficit from last year's \$118 billion.

But these figures only underscore the intractability of the U.S.-Japan trade gap. The Japanese surplus in its U.S. trade is so far down only \$150 million from last year's \$52.1 billion. With steady improvement in the U.S. trade balance with Europe, Japan and other Asian exporters are expected to account for 75 percent to 80 percent of the U.S. deficit this year, a gain of 10 percentage points or more from 1988.

Because much of the improvement in Japan's trade performance is attributable to currency fluctuations, most analysts forecast that its balance will return to the \$90 billion range in 1990. But the longer-term worry, U.S. analysts say, is that the effects of the past two years of heavy capital spending in Japan have yet to be felt.

Having increased capital outlays by 30 percent last year and an additional 25 percent this

year, to \$64 billion, Japanese manufacturers are already beginning to market a wide range of products — \$40,000 cars, a new generation of robots, advanced consumer products and telecommunications equipment — that will exert strong upward pressure on the bilateral trade imbalance in coming years.

"In a year or two, the spending that has helped push up Japanese imports is going to bowl us over," said a U.S. administration analyst. "We haven't yet seen the kind of structural change that will protect the U.S. deficit from these kinds of products."

This source and others in Washington expect the 1989 trade statistics to make Congress even more sensitive to the deficit with Japan than it has been. Representative Stephen J. Solarz, Democrat of New York, has already scheduled hearings on U.S.-Japan relations for the end of next month or early February.

In a report issued last week, the Paris-based Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development singled out continuing trade imbalances as being among the coming year's most worrisome global economic issues. Noted the report, "the U.S. deficit has been slow to correct itself."

But beyond the trade numbers lie a half-dozen industry-specific issues that are on the trade agenda for the next six months. These include satellite and supercomputer procurement, and access to the Japanese markets for construction and legal services. Progress on many of these issues has been slow, negotiators report, despite the threat of action by the United States under terms of the trade bill passed by Congress last year.

Nor is there much hope for concrete results from a "structural impediments initiative" launched this year to address cultural and structural problems on both sides, such as the Japanese distribution system and the U.S. savings rate.

With an interim report on negotiations due this spring and final proposals by midyear, officials here now assert that it was "unwise,

even dangerous," as one said, to give the impression that the fundamental changes sought in the talks are possible.

"We can discuss cultural issues until we're blue," said Kiichi Miyazawa, a former finance minister and a leader in the governing Liberal Democratic Party. "I'm not against the talks. But they're not going to solve economic issues."

Although Mr. Miyazawa's perspective is widely shared, the talks on structural impediments appear to have helped produce a recognition in Tokyo that Japan's relationship with its largest trading partner is approaching a turning point. Together with this year's disappointing trade figures, the talks have spurred a renewed effort to blunt anticipated criticism by implementing new policies.

In September, the Ministry of International Trade and Industry announced plans to introduce import incentives next year that would probably be based on tax relief of one kind or another. While that policy is still subject to debate, officials have also suggested that increased public spending on roads and other facilities may be in the offing, along with steps to reduce cartel trading practices and lower prices at the retail level.

Recent Japanese newspaper reports also indicated that the trade ministry has informally told Japan's 60 most powerful exporters, which account for two-thirds of the nation's overseas sales, that they will have to double the value of their imports over the next three years. In apparent response, Toyota Motor Corp. and other companies have begun to announce plans to step up foreign purchases of such sensitive items as semiconductors.

Many other recent developments are intended to emphasize the fundamental interdependence of the U.S. and Japanese economies, analysts believe. These include a Japanese court decision recognizing the patent rights of Texas Instruments Inc. after 29 years and an announcement that U.S. companies would be included in the development of a supersonic aircraft here.

Finance Ministry officials have stressed in recent briefings that "deregulation" is to be the keynote of the coming year's national budget. They also assert that policies should have a greater impact on national policy than it has until now — a clear reference to the increasing demands for change advanced by Japanese voters this year.

Last week, the government announced that tariffs on more than 1,000 manufactured items, with a total import value of \$13 billion in 1988, would be eliminated next April. It was a constructive measure, economists agreed, but one that ignored the quotas and other nontariff barriers at the core of the Japanese trade regime.

As that measure and numerous others like it suggest, it is still uncertain whether the government views its dilemma as an image problem or a new imperative to address the issues underlying its looming trade difficulties.

"If you think everything is O.K. in our relations with Japan, you're making a big mistake," said George P. Shultz, a former U.S. secretary of state, during a visit to Tokyo last weekend. "The normal dialogue on trade matters has taken a very nasty turn, and that is where the potential for disruption lies."

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## Rebels Hit Kabul With 52 Rockets, Dozens Are Killed

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches  
KABUL — Afghan rebels fired more than 52 rockets into Kabul on Wednesday, the 10th anniversary of the Soviet intervention, a government spokesman said.  
The spokesman said dozens of people had died in some of the fiercest bombing this year.  
"The entire city has been hit and most of the rockets concentrated in the areas of the airport, the International Hotel and densely populated suburbs," the spokesman said as the rocket attacks continued into the evening.  
Meanwhile, Afghan refugees rallied in several Pakistani camps Wednesday to mark the anniversary of the Soviet intervention.  
In Kabul, combat troops carrying rocket launchers and machine guns have taken over deserted streets around the center of the city where at least four rockets hit, including one that slammed through a garrison housing the elite presidential troops.  
The spokesman said the presidential palace had not been hit.  
He said armed forces had launched ground, artillery and air attacks on three suspected mujahidin bases in the hills ringing the capital and had killed more than 70 rebels in sustained bombing of their positions that began Tuesday.  
The Kabul airport remained closed for several hours and opened intermittently to allow military planes to land.  
Important government officials have been ordered to remain in their offices overnight, but the spokesman described that as a "usual security measure."  
Tension remains tangible in this city of 1.5 million people. A few

pedestrians were seen running or walking briskly in the streets.  
The rockets started falling at 8:00 A.M. and by midday had landed behind the building housing the ruling Central Committee. Cars disappeared from the streets and at least 20 rockets slammed into the posh Shar-e-Nau central district.  
At least 15 rockets fell around the airport, a frequent mujahidin target and vital to the government because of a continuing Soviet airlift of supplies and munitions for the city.  
Buildings shook and window panes rattled in the city center around the Kabul Hotel as government gunners responded with Soviet-made surface-to-surface missiles.  
The attack, the fiercest launched by the resistance from the mountains around the capital this year, followed a 30-rocket barrage on the city Tuesday that left eight dead and at least 12 injured.  
In Pakistan, tens of thousands of Afghan guerrillas and their supporters burned effigies and listened to impassioned speeches at refugee camps around the frontier city of Peshawar, where several rebel groups are based.  
They vowed to keep fighting for the downfall of President Najib and pledged to replace his Marxist administration with a guerrilla-run, Muslim government.  
Soviet forces fought the guerrillas for nine years before completing a phased withdrawal Feb. 15. The Kremlin continues to send vast quantities of military supplies to the Kabul government.  
The Communists still hold Afghanistan's major cities, but the guerrillas control most of the countryside. (AP, AP)



Veterans of the Afghan campaign lighting candles at a Moscow church on Wednesday to commemorate the 10th anniversary of Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. The Soviets withdrew in February.

## Shamir Eases Up On Arabs Promises to Press Ahead for a Vote

By Alan Cowell  
New York Times Service

JERUSALEM — In a noticeable shift of tone, Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir of Israel said he prefers friendship to enmity with Palestinians and has pledged to press ahead with proposals for elections in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip despite opposition both within his own party and from many Palestinians.  
In an interview, however, he made clear that Israel would not consider changing what he called his plan for peace—a proposal for elections to choose a group of Palestinians with whom to negotiate first a five-year period of autonomy in the occupied territories, then a permanent settlement.  
"I don't like enemies," he said. "I like friends. And basically I have a friendly attitude toward the Palestinian Arabs, because they live in this country. When I meet with them I feel some closeness to them, because they live in the same country."  
Mr. Shamir first made the election proposal in May, drawing hostility to it from extreme right-wing members of his own Likud party, the dominant partner in the coalition government, and eliciting dismissals from many Palestinians.  
After months of tortuous diplomacy, however, the United States intervened to support an Egyptian proposal that Israelis and Palestinians meet in Cairo to discuss arrangements for the election.  
Israel and Egypt have agreed conditionally to send their foreign ministers to Washington to discuss with Secretary of State James A. Baker 3rd which Palestinians should meet the Israelis.  
Publicly, the Palestine Liberation Organization insists it should decide who meets the Israelis—and a demand Israel rejects—and wants a wider agenda and other guarantees at the Cairo talks. In this atmosphere of uncertainty, however, Israel is now apparently trying to win American good will by showing a resolve to press ahead with a peace effort, thereby gaining a diplomatic edge.  
Mr. Shamir said the proposed foreign ministers' meeting would "certainly" take place in Washington in the second half of next month. Thereafter, he said, "if there were elections—and the elections will be true democratic elections—it will be a big boost to a real desire for peace."  
He suggested, however, that the process of elections and a period of autonomy would be viewed by Israel both as a test of Palestinian commitment and as a way of separating Palestinians deemed hostile from those ready to cooperate with Israel.  
"It will be a test for the capability of the Palestinians to work together with Israel. And to work with Israel in harmony," he said.  
"In our view these people who participate in these elections will be identified with our plan of peace," Mr. Shamir said. "They will know they are electing people who will want to negotiate with us about autonomy for five years, then about peaceful negotiations about a permanent solution."  
"People who would be opposed to such a way will not participate in these elections and will not be elected," he said. "We understand it in such a way. If they will not be willing to cooperate with us, then all this plan will fall apart."  
Asked if he would be able to overcome right-wing opposition to the election proposal within the conservative Likud party, he said: "I think so. I'm not very worried about people who think otherwise."  
Mr. Shamir suggested that Israeli troops could remain in place during elections.  
"Any presence of our forces will give more, I would say, strength to democratic elections," he said.  
"They are only protecting the public order," he said. "The Arab themselves—and they know very well—they have nothing to fear from the Israeli troops."  
Mr. Shamir made clear that his conciliatory remarks toward Palestinians did not include those deemed adversaries. "Where there is an enemy of the people of Israel," he said, "his fate will not be a very pleasant one."

## Republicans Balk At House Contests

By Tom Kenworthy  
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — On most lists of potentially vulnerable House members in next November's congressional elections, the name of Peter Hoagland, a freshman member of Congress from Nebraska, appears near the top.  
The Omaha lawyer is a Democrat representing a traditionally Republican seat. He won election last year by fewer than 3,000 votes and he was left with a large campaign debt.  
Yet Mr. Hoagland appears relatively well-positioned for his re-election battle. Jerry Schenken, a pathologist and prodigious fund-raiser who spent almost \$1.2 million as Mr. Hoagland's Republican opponent in the last election, has decided against a rematch. Mr. Hoagland's most likely opponent is a former congressional staff member who placed third in the Republican primary in 1988.  
Representative George E. Sangmeister of Illinois faces similar circumstances. The freshman Democrat beat a Republican incumbent by just 1,039 votes, and Republican Party officials have targeted his suburban Chicago seat for recapture in November.  
But two state legislators mentioned as possible candidates have decided not to challenge Mr. Sangmeister. His only announced opponent is an insurance agent and second-term mayor of a community of 20,000 who has barely begun to raise a campaign war chest.  
The situations in the 2d District of Nebraska and the 4th District of Illinois are emblematic of a persistent problem for Republicans. They have failed to excel at the crucial art of recruiting strong candidates for the House.  
As a result, Republicans have not controlled the House since 1954 and they currently have 83 fewer members than the Democrats.  
It is a problem that many Republicans recognize, but that resists easy solutions.  
Republicans face barriers hindering their efforts:  
• Their long minority status in the House has in some ways become self-fulfilling. There is naturally less incentive for good

Republican candidates to run for a House seat knowing that the office offers no prospect of real power in a body dominated by Democrats.  
• At the local and state level, Democrats have a large farm club of seasoned campaigners and officeholders who are ready to run for the House. Republican House candidates, by contrast, often come from private-sector jobs that do not give them experience in the rigors of campaigning.  
• Particularly in Rust Belt states that are losing population, 1990 is not an especially good year to run for the House because congressional district lines will change across the nation in 1992 as a result of redistricting, which will be controlled in many states by the Democrats.  
But some analysts said that the Republican Party has simply been less dogged about recruiting good candidates than the opposition.  
A congressional scholar, Norman J. Ornstein, also said, "Republicans in the past have had the attitude that if you run once and lose, they kiss you off and look for someone else."  
As an example, he said the Republicans allowed former House Speaker Jim Wright, Democrat of Texas, to run without opposition last year. Although Mr. Wright was unbeatable, a Republican contender could have won valuable exposure and been positioned to win the special election to fill Mr. Wright's seat after his resignation last summer, a contest barely won by a Democrat, Pete Geren.  
However, added Mr. Ornstein, that mind-set appears to be changing at the National Republican Congressional Committee under prodding from its new co-chairman, Edward J. Rollins.  
"Obviously, it takes brave and courageous souls to challenge Democratic incumbents," said Mr. Rollins. "This is a four-year plan. I'm right up front with a lot of candidates. I tell them, 'It may take two times, but if you go with us in 1990, we'll be with you in 1992.'"  
But breaking the old pattern may be difficult for Republicans.

## Africa's Fear: Losing Ground to Eastern Europe

By Jane Perlez  
New York Times Service

NAIROBI — African officials say they are concerned that with attention focused on Eastern Europe, sub-Saharan Africa is likely to be relegated far down on the global agenda.  
B.A. Kiplagat, the permanent secretary in the Kenyan Foreign Ministry, who is widely traveled in Africa, said in an interview: "Eastern Europe is the most sexy beautiful girl, and we are an old tattered lady." Sadly, he noted, "People are tired of Africa. So many countries, so many wars."  
Many African leaders are nervous that aid to Africa from the World Bank and other donors will be severely cut in order to provide Eastern Europe with more.  
In Zimbabwe last month, the president of the World Bank, Barber Conable, tried to persuade his listeners that the bank would not desert Africa for Eastern Europe, but few fully believed it.  
To compensate for an expected disengagement of the Soviet Union and the United States, some African nations are scrambling for new allies, with Israel emerging as one of the countries most politically active in Africa and Japan as the continent's new foreign economic power.  
For many years, black African countries played off one power bloc against another to get more military or economic aid.  
President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire was put into power with the help of the Central Intelligence Agency after the country's first prime minister, Patrice Lumumba, was considered too closely aligned with Moscow.  
Mr. Mobutu, who has been

thought of as a stalwart against communism, rules a huge and populous country in the center of the continent. He received \$800 million in American funds from 1965 to 1987.  
Similarly, the Soviet Union has poured around \$10 billion in arms into Ethiopia, whose revolutionary government embraced Marxism-Leninism in the mid-1970s.  
Events in Africa in the 1970s even affected attempts to ease the Cold War between the superpower blocs.  
Henry A. Kissinger, a former U.S. secretary of state, said that the possibility of conciliation perished in Angola when the Soviets armed the newly independent government in Luanda; the United States armed the rebel forces of Jonas Savimbi.  
And Zbigniew Brzezinski, national security adviser under President Jimmy Carter, said the second strategic arms treaty all but perished in the sands of the Ogaden when the Soviets switched sides in the Horn of Africa and armed the Ethiopians against the invading Somalis.  
The United States switched sides, too, arming Somalia and obtaining an agreement for access to a port there.  
But in the last two years, the United States and the Soviet Union have encouraged, in some cases jointly, an end to the civil wars they had financed.  
To deliver a clear message of disengagement in the Horn and other African arenas, as well, the Soviets gave First Deputy Foreign Minister Yuri M. Voronov, who had served as the Kremlin's special envoy in Kabul at the time of the

Soviet withdrawal, responsibility for African relations.  
The implications of this were not lost on the Ethiopians when Mr. Voronov visited Addis Ababa last month, diplomats say.  
The Soviets have told the Ethiopian government that the military treaty that expires in 1991 will not be renewed. And the last Soviet advisers in Eritrea were withdrawn from that war-ravaged province on Dec. 15.  
To plug the gap being left by the Soviets, the Ethiopians used historical links to Israel and a diplomatic offensive by President Mengistu Haile Mariam's brother, Kassa Kebede, who speaks Hebrew from his days as a student in Israel. They sought to reopen diplomatic relations with Israel after a 16-year break.  
The new relationship, cemented last month, was accompanied with promises, and some diplomats say, immediate delivery of arms for the civil war.  
More bad news for the Ethiopian government came with the collapse of the leadership of Erich Honecker in East Germany.  
The ruthless Ethiopian security services were trained by East Germany, a contract that has now apparently ended, diplomats say. And two weeks ago, East Germany announced that it would no longer supply weapons to Ethiopia.  
The changes in Eastern Europe are causing some political rethinking on the African continent.  
Two countries in West Africa, Benin and the archbishop of Sao Tome and Principe, announced this month that they would abandon Marxism-Leninism as their official ideology. Both countries said they

would encourage private-sector investment.  
At a congress in July, the ruling party in Mozambique, once a "vanguard party of the worker-peasant alliance," recast itself as a "vanguard party of the Mozambican people."  
In a war-torn country where total economic output is about one-quarter of its level before independence from Portugal in 1975, the party, Frelimo, also announced some modest economic changes, putting more emphasis on small family-farm plots instead of inefficient state farms.  
But one-party states, whether Marxist as in Angola or capitalist as in Kenya and Zaire, are likely to remain the norm in Africa.  
Mr. Kiplagat, who is often put in the position of defending Kenya's one-party rule, does not believe that African countries should automatically follow the political examples of Eastern Europe.  
"The major problem is internal conflicts and resolving them," he said. "Before you talk about multi-party, before anything else, these internal wars that have economic, tribal, historical background, must be settled. The thing we need is moral encouragement to resolve these problems."  
The opening of Eastern Europe to Western investment does not spell good news for Africa, either.  
With a well-educated labor force available at relatively cheap wages, the countries of Eastern Europe present much more appealing possibilities than Africa, where even in the best economic environment, like Kenya, badly needed foreign investment has dropped.

## Sir Lennox Berkeley, 86, English Composer, Is Dead

The Associated Press  
LONDON — Sir Lennox Berkeley, 86, a British composer perhaps best known for his choral work "The Stabat Mater," died Tuesday of a respiratory infection at age 86.  
Sir Lennox wrote opera, chamber music, concertos and four full symphonies. The "Stabat Mater," for six voices and 12 instruments, was written for Benjamin Britten's English Opera Group and was first performed in 1947.  
He was knighted in 1974. The Composers Guild of Great Britain named him Composer of the Year

in 1973. Two years later, he was elected to the presidency of the Composers Guild and the Performing Rights Society.  
■ Other deaths:  
Doug Harvey, 65, one of the greatest defensemen in the National Hockey League, Tuesday in Montreal after a long illness. He was elected to the Hockey Hall of Fame in 1973. He spent 21 seasons in the NHL, 14 with the Canadiens, and led Montreal to six Stanley Cups.  
Giorgio Cavallotti, 85, a pioneer Abstract Expressionist who brought to American painting a Mediterranean feeling for color and light, Friday in New York.  
Ernest N. (Dutch) Moril, 60, the first black mayor of New Orleans after a long illness. He died Saturday in New Orleans after collapsing.  
Walter Ris, 65, an Olympic champion swimmer, apparently of a heart attack in Mission Viejo, California. He won the gold medal in the 100-meter freestyle in 57.3 seconds in 1948 in London. That time stood as a record until 1956. He also anchored the 4x200 freestyle relay gold medal winners who swam the event in 8:46, setting another Olympic record.  
Joseph A. Livingston, 84, a Pulitzer Prize-winning reporter whose Business Outlook column appeared in more than 50 newspapers across the country, Monday in Fippsville, Pennsylvania, after collapsing.

## Scientists Discover An 'Immune' Gene

By Harold M. Schmeck  
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Scientists have discovered a gene that they believe is crucial in the development of the human immune defenses, possibly a central genetic switch for the process by which the body generates a wide array of protective antibodies.  
The discovery is expected to throw important new light on the complexities of the immune system, which is vital to almost every aspect of human health and development.  
The discovery may help scientists better understand some genetic diseases in which the body's defense systems fail.  
Experts say that the research is important but that it is far too early to tell what practical applications may result. Scientists involved in the studies are testing patients with disorders in which immune defenses are lacking to see whether any such cases may be linked to failures of the gene.  
The normal immune system generates an immense variety of antibody types. These act as specialized weapons, attacking virtually every type of infection or irritant to the immune system, natural or synthetic. The immune system is an army of weapons against every conceivable invader.  
The production of different antibody types is known to be produced by a complex genetic process in which parts of genes are shuffled and recombined. As a result, the immune system produces millions of cell clones, each capable of producing a unique antibody.  
The newly discovered gene is believed to play an important role in that genetic recombination process. The scientists have named the gene RAG-1 for recombination activating gene.  
The research is being published

in the journal Cell by Dr. David G. Schatz, Dr. Marjorie A. Oettinger and Dr. David Baltimore of the Whitehead Institute for Biomedical Research at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Cambridge.  
Dr. Baltimore, who heads the institute, will leave shortly to become president of Rockefeller University in New York.  
The scientists said they believed the gene provided the blueprint for all or part of the enzyme that carries out the shuffling of gene parts that gives rise to the diversity of antibodies. Or, they say, it may be a regulatory gene that switches on other genes vital to the process.  
In either case, the RAG-1 gene is believed to act on cells of the bone marrow that give rise to two types of cells vital to the immune defenses: B cells, which are responsible for antibody production, and T cells, which have many functions in immunity.  
A possibly related discovery was reported in the journal Nature last week by a group of Japanese scientists led by Dr. Tasuku Honjo at Kyoto University.  
Dr. Honjo's group discovered a gene that they believe is central to the genetic recombination process in bone marrow cells.  
The scientists do not yet know how the two discoveries relate to each other.  
The Japanese scientists reported that their gene is related to certain genes of bacteria, and they suggest in their report that it might have a long history in the evolution of life.  
The scientists at the Whitehead Institute said that genes almost identical to RAG-1 exist in rabbits, dogs, goats and horses and that a similar gene exists in species as far distant from the mammals as chickens and frogs.

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Qualifications: doctorat ou equivalent en sciences sociales ou sante, minimum de 5 ans d'experience dans la planification et l'execution des systemes MIS dans des programmes SMI/PPF; connaissance parfaite du francais et de l'anglais parle et ecrit; experience en technologie d'ordinateur, speciallement en gestion des ensembles de donnees pour l'utilisation en systemes nationaux de traitement de l'information. Salaire: \$45-55,000 selon qualifications et experience. Avantages substantiels.

Faire parvenir C.V. a :  
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The Population Council,  
One Dag Hammarskjold Plaza,  
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## HEALTH / SCIENCE

## Waiting for Next One in Quake-Prone Valley

By Sandra Blakeslee  
New York Times Service

**P**ARKFIELD, California — As a caretaker for the United States' most ambitious earthquake prediction experiment, Andy Records spends each day in the dry hills above this central California village, fiddling with instruments designed to detect subtle signs that the earth is restless.

More seismological instruments and other measurement devices are here than in any other stretch of ground in the United States. If all goes well, scientists say, those instruments could produce the best data yet on what happens when one fragment of the earth's crust slides by another.

The geologists hope to identify events that precede quakes in the hope that such precursors could provide a warning of a potential catastrophe.

Such warnings are not particularly important to Parkfield. The town has only 34 people and its few structures — the Parkfield Café, a fire station and a school — are all modest, one-story structures not threatened by the relatively small earthquakes that originate in the immediate area. But once warning signs are identified, the scientists say, they could be used to save lives in more populated vulnerable areas.

About halfway between San Francisco and Los Angeles and right on top of the San Andreas fault, Parkfield has had a moderate earthquake every 22 years or so in the nearby fault segment since record-keeping began in the middle of the 19th century.

Mr. Records is growing impatient for the next one. "Sometimes I just want to go out and kick the instruments so that something happens," he said recently as he surveyed the old ranch house that serves as operations center for the experiment.

But according to Allan Lindh, a geologist at the U.S. Geological Survey in Menlo Park, California, who is the chief scientist for the Parkfield Earthquake Experiment, Mr. Records may not have long to wait. The last Parkfield earthquake was in 1966. The next is due any day.

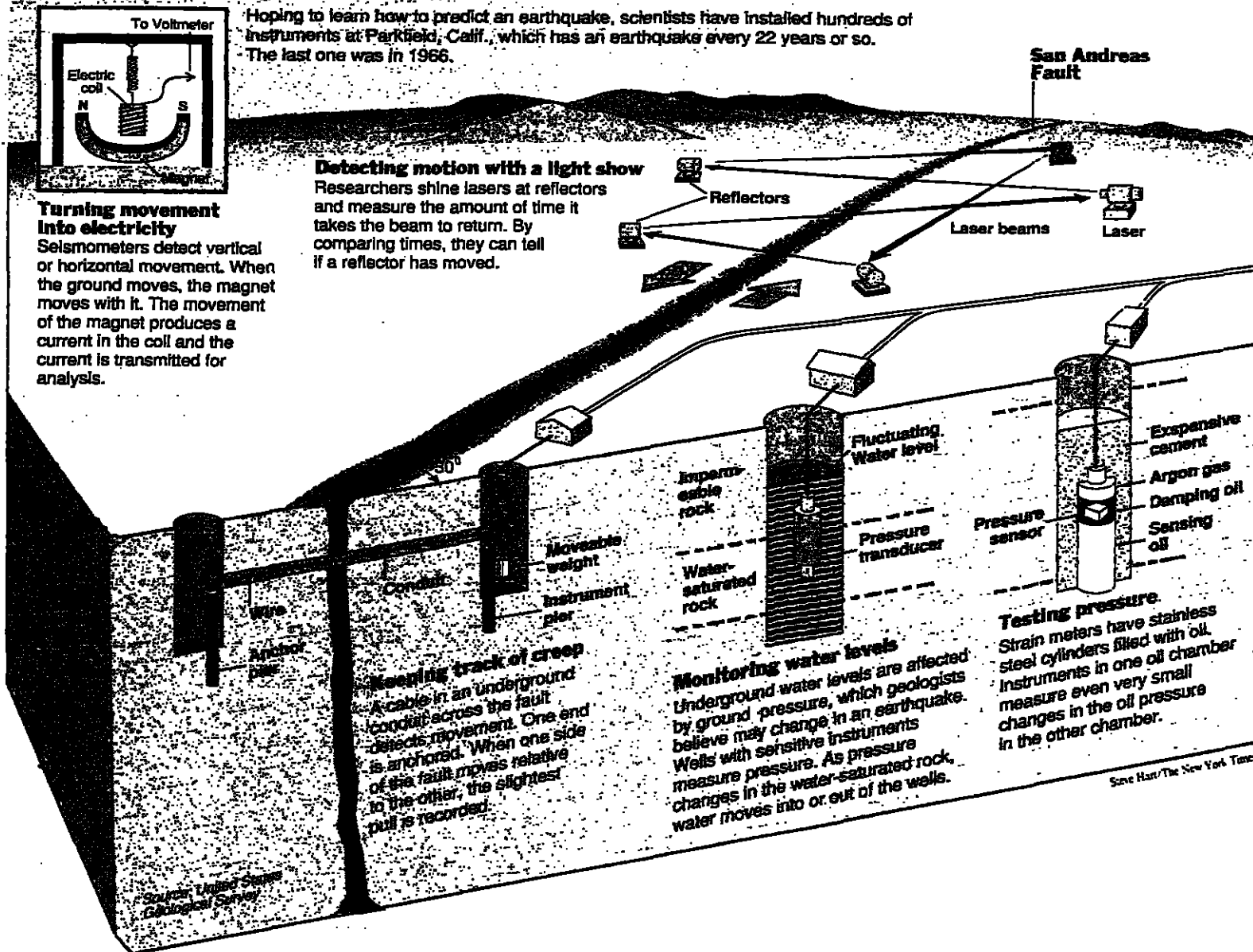
The U.S. Geological Survey has been here since 1985, when it issued its first earthquake prediction: a moderate earthquake will strike Parkfield before 1993. The agency has spent \$2 million deploying hundreds of seismometers, creep meters, ultrameters, strain gauges, lasers and other instruments to determine the anatomy of the earthquake.

Although the Parkfield fault segment is the best known site of repetitive quakes, most faults produce earthquakes in roughly predictable cycles, Dr. Lindh said. The size and pattern of recurrence of earthquakes in a fault, he said, are determined by the rate of plate motion, the strength and configuration of local rock formations and the size of the fault segment.

Parkfield is a small segment with weak rocks that "goes off every 22 years," making it relatively easy to study, he said.

## In Search of Signals From a Restless Earth

Hoping to learn how to predict an earthquake, scientists have installed hundreds of instruments at Parkfield, Calif., which has an earthquake every 22 years or so. The last one was in 1966.



ing it relatively easy to study, he said. Most other faults have periods of 100 to 350 years.

Although scientists do not know if the earth broadcasts signs that an earthquake is imminent, many geologists say they believe they will find such signals if their detectors are sensitive enough.

One goal of the Parkfield experiments is to determine if smaller earthquakes have special characteristics that would identify them as foreshocks.

One theory holds that foreshocks produce vibrations of higher frequency. To look at foreshock frequencies with the minimum of interference from loose soil near the surface, scientists have buried a

dozen devices that measure vertical or horizontal movement of the earth, or seismometers, in half-mile-deep holes near the fault.

Another key instrument is a 20-yard cable stretched across the fault and buried in the soil, Dr. Lindh said. Both ends of such creep meters are anchored. Dozens have been deployed along the Parkfield segment of the fault, and when one side of the fault moves relative to the other side, the slightest motion is recorded.

Creep meters are designed to detect the slow movement scientists believe occurs in the hours or minutes before an earthquake, Dr. Lindh said.

"When you squeeze rocks together in

the laboratory, there is always some kind of slow slip before things accelerate," he said.

Students and professors from half a dozen universities participating in the Parkfield experiment are on hand, tending to their own instruments.

One of them, Tom Daley, a graduate student at the Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory at the University of California, recently was recording seismic waves generated by "the thumper," which resembles a bulldozer with a metal plate, about six feet in diameter, hanging from its undercarriage.

The thumper's powerful diesel engine pounds the plate against the ground and an array of 96 instruments in a test well

measures the seismic waves that result. In other wells, instruments measure water pressure, which some geologists believe will change as rocks begin to crack in an earthquake.

In the next months, Dr. Lindh said, scientists plan to deploy a new experiment at Parkfield for detecting low-frequency radio waves.

Much to their surprise, researchers from Stanford University detected such waves just before the earthquake near San Francisco on Oct. 17. As a result, scientists suspect that the low-frequency radio waves might be a precursor, but the phenomenon is a mystery to them.

"We're going to measure everything we can think of," Dr. Lindh said.

## HEALTH Q&amp;A

## Against Antibiotics: The Shotgun Theory

Michael McGarron, M.D., will answer questions from readers every other Thursday. Please write to him at the International Herald Tribune, 181 Avenue Charles de Gaulle, Neuilly 92521, France.

In every country where I've lived, physicians seem very quick to prescribe antibiotics. Should I be wary?

Most definitely. Since the development of antibiotics in the 1940s, these "magic bullets" have been grossly over-prescribed by health professionals. Much of this over-prescription is based on a "shotgun" approach to therapy. The most common example of this is the "seasonal cold," usually caused by a virus and accompanied by the annoying symptoms of sneezes and sore throat. Antibiotics are designed to inhibit or kill bacteria and, therefore, are useless against viruses. Due to the prevalence of these viral attacks, many strategies have been developed to combat them: everything from vitamin C and chicken soup to nasal spray containing interferon, but not antibiotics.

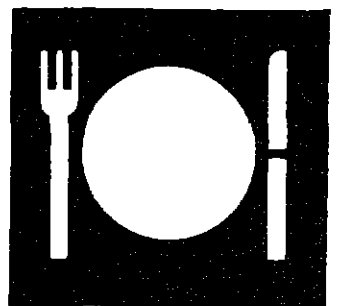
Several years ago, I had a heart attack. I was told to stop smoking, lose weight and upgrade my nutrition, but it is still unclear to me what activities, like sex and dancing are safe for me.

If you suffer a serious health setback, there should be a new relationship with your health team. A properly and individually designed exercise program, including sex, walking, and dancing, orchestrated by the rehabilitation cardiologist, should be part of any healthy heart program.

Every time I travel between Europe and the Far East, I am plagued by bouts of diarrhea. How, if at all, can I prevent or curtail these bouts?

You suffer from an extremely common problem among travelers, and while most are merely inconvenienced, some are confined to bed and others are forced to cut short their journeys and return home. In general, diarrhea is caused by micro-organisms, or germs, that have contaminated one's food or water. Foods that are famous for the attraction and stor-

age of these germs are re-heated or raw food (including salads) and shellfish (because they act as filters for contaminated water). Water (and ice) is best consumed from sealed bottles and reputable sources. Cleanliness is the best preventive measure. With regard to treatment, most food poisoning is self-limited and generally requires no specific treatment. Drink lots of



water to replace the dehydration you describe.

I spend easily a quarter of my waking life traveling between countries on planes. Frankly, I feel somewhat captive when it comes to airline foods. What kind of thinking has gone into the preparation of these dishes?

When I asked a major airline what nutritional considerations went into the food I ate at 35,000 feet, I was told that they didn't know or care, because it was taste and not sodium, fat, or sugar that took priority in menu-making. The airlines decide how much they want to spend on food and the caterers propose a menu within their respective economic limits. The chef then goes to work establishing menus for not only first, business and economy classes, but also accommodating many diverse local culinary tastes and dietary restrictions. When you buy your ticket, you must specify any one of several alternatives to the standard fare. Of all the special menus, the vegetarian, Hindu (an Indian variation of the vegetarian), or diabetic (without all those hidden sugars one finds elsewhere) are the most healthful.

## IN BRIEF

## Chili Peppers Used in Study of Herpes

New York Times Service

The substance that makes chili peppers hot appears to be useful in studying herpes infections, scientists at the University of California at San Francisco have reported. Capsaicin, the incendiary ingredient in peppers, blocks and sometimes destroys nerve fibers that could be a conduit for herpes viruses, they said.

In experiments with mice, researchers found that the chemical causes sensory nerves to eject their supply of a chemical called substance P, which helps transmit pain sensations. When peripheral nerve fibers containing substance P were destroyed by repeated doses, the infection rate was reduced by half, they found.

Although the work has implications for humans, the researchers cautioned that people should not put pepper solutions in their eyes because they can be irritating and can cause nerve damage. They said more research must be done before

## Oxygen Deprivation Harmful to Climbers

New York Times Service

Oxygen deprivation suffered by mountain climbers who reach the top of very high peaks may cause minor brain damage, such as temporary memory loss or motor dysfunction, according to scientists at the University of Washington School of Medicine.

They examined 35 young climbers from 1981 to 1984 before and after they climbed Mount Everest on the border between Tibet and Nepal or Trich Mir in Pakistan. After suffering oxygen deprivation, climbers could not recall simple lists of words or series of pictures as well as they did before their climb, according to the report in the New England Journal of

Medicine. "There is a lot of individual variability," said Dr. Thomas F. Hornbein, an author of the report. "But we can say even a single exposure will produce some mild effects."

Eighteen people who climbed Everest in 1981, for example, made noticeable errors in reading, writing, calculation, spelling and pronunciation upon their return, the study said.

## Magazine Chooses Molecule of the Year

Washington Post Service

Time magazine has its Man of the Year. Playboy has its Playmate of the Year. Now Science, the published by the American Association for the Advancement of Science, has the Molecule of the Year.

This year's winner is DNA polymerase, the enzyme that makes copies of DNA molecules. It is crucial to a powerful new technique called polymerase chain reaction,

or PCR, in which a single copy of a gene — too little to analyze — can be copied by the millions. PCR is being used in a wide variety of applications in research, diagnosis and forensic science.

## Landfill Watering Is Studied in U.S.

Washington Post Service

Except perhaps for the Smithsonian Institution, the easiest place to find a 15-year-old milk carton or a 30-year-old newspaper is to dig into a typical American landfill. The garbage is supposed to decompose but often takes as long as 50 years to complete the process.

A study at the Argonne National Laboratory in Illinois has concluded that simply adding water could triple the speed of decomposition. Current U.S. rules prohibit adding extra moisture to dumps because of concern that the water could pick up toxic substances and contaminate groundwater.

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THE NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, THURSDAY, JULY 11, 1981

## IS TOMAN TO BE TRUSTED AT THE AUTOMOBILE STEERING WHEEL?

Of course you say she is a doctor, that she is capable to have her nerves without... *Unreliable*

### A CENTURY OF NEWS

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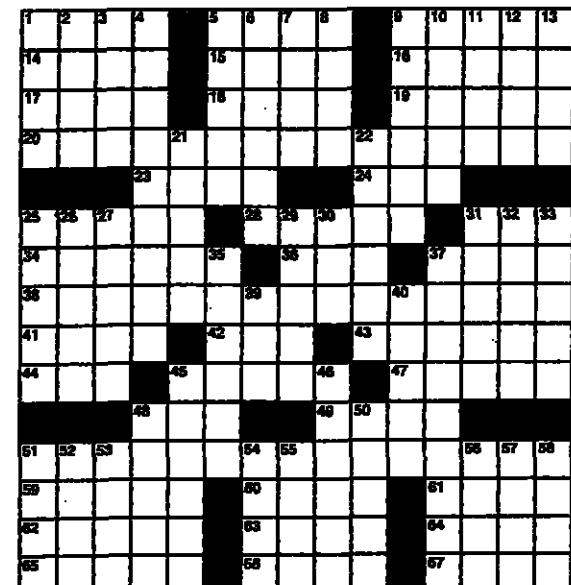
28-12-89

## ACROSS

- 1 Site of the Leaning Tower
- 5 Espies
- 9 Monastery
- 14 Equable
- 15 Al, the New Orleans trumpeter
- 16 Beats decisively
- 17 Carry on
- 18 Give someone the eye
- 19 Social class
- 20 Ailing
- 23 Total of a bill
- 24 Words from sponsors
- 25 Identify again
- 28 Rubberneck
- 31 Bikini top
- 34 Evasive one
- 36 Screecher
- 37 Sir Christopher, the architect

## Solution to Previous Puzzle

ODIN TRAGIC NBC  
DENE RETIRE EAR  
DMSO OMEGAS TSE  
LETS GOONINTOTHE  
CROPTED ALLED  
TITAN LEFT SLEDS  
STERES LOA  
DARKROOM AND  
YOU ENTIRE  
MIAMI DRS ESSEX  
ACTION EEL PSI  
SEEWATDEVELOPS  
HMS ABRADIE ISIT  
EAT LEAVEN MARE  
RNS ELMERS BLEED



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## DOWN

- 1 Land of the Incas
- 2 Actor Dixon
- 3 Remit
- 4 Goes before in time
- 5 Flu preventers
- 6 Crazy — (card game)
- 7 Director Kenton
- 8 Ragout
- 9 Ornamental carving on furniture
- 10 Plats and punts
- 11 Kind of whacker
- 12 Room follower
- 13 Belgian river
- 21 Thesaurus man
- 22 Pinna
- 25 Carousal
- 26 Gladden
- 27 Whines
- 29 — de jout (upholstery fabric)
- 30 Arista
- 31 Kind of storm
- 32 Periodic income in Paris
- 33 Goose genus
- 35 Bucolic
- 37 Observed
- 38 John or Jane
- 40 An anagram for siren
- 45 Least risky
- 46 Make moist
- 48 Paradigm
- 50 Laughing
- 51 Pellon's supporter
- 52 Cohort
- 53 Small monkey
- 54 Girasol
- 55 Kn of Patrick Dennis?
- 56 Part of the Louisiana Purchase
- 57 Central European river
- 58 Condé, the publisher











# NYSE

Wednesday's Closing

Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect late trades elsewhere. Via The Associated Press

12 Month High Low Stock Div Yld PE 100 High Low PA OTC

12 Month High	12 Month Low	Stock	Div	Yld	PE	100 High	100 Low	PA	OTC
110	105	AAR				110	105		
105	100	AAI				105	100		
100	95	AAJ				100	95		
95	90	AAK				95	90		
90	85	AAI				90	85		
85	80	AAJ				85	80		
80	75	AAK				80	75		
75	70	AAI				75	70		
70	65	AAJ				70	65		
65	60	AAK				65	60		
60	55	AAI				60	55		
55	50	AAJ				55	50		
50	45	AAK				50	45		
45	40	AAI				45	40		
40	35	AAJ				40	35		
35	30	AAK				35	30		
30	25	AAI				30	25		
25	20	AAJ				25	20		
20	15	AAK				20	15		
15	10	AAI				15	10		
10	5	AAJ				10	5		
5	0	AAK				5	0		

12 Month High	12 Month Low	Stock	Div	Yld	PE	100 High	100 Low	PA	OTC
110	105	AAR				110	105		
105	100	AAI				105	100		
100	95	AAJ				100	95		
95	90	AAK				95	90		
90	85	AAI				90	85		
85	80	AAJ				85	80		
80	75	AAK				80	75		
75	70	AAI				75	70		
70	65	AAJ				70	65		
65	60	AAK				65	60		
60	55	AAI				60	55		
55	50	AAJ				55	50		
50	45	AAK				50	45		
45	40	AAI				45	40		
40	35	AAJ				40	35		
35	30	AAK				35	30		
30	25	AAI				30	25		
25	20	AAJ				25	20		
20	15	AAK				20	15		
15	10	AAI				15	10		
10	5	AAJ				10	5		
5	0	AAK				5	0		

12 Month High	12 Month Low	Stock	Div	Yld	PE	100 High	100 Low	PA	OTC
110	105	AAR				110	105		
105	100	AAI				105	100		
100	95	AAJ				100	95		
95	90	AAK				95	90		
90	85	AAI				90	85		
85	80	AAJ				85	80		
80	75	AAK				80	75		
75	70	AAI				75	70		
70	65	AAJ				70	65		
65	60	AAK				65	60		
60	55	AAI				60	55		
55	50	AAJ				55	50		
50	45	AAK				50	45		
45	40	AAI				45	40		
40	35	AAJ				40	35		
35	30	AAK				35	30		
30	25	AAI				30	25		
25	20	AAJ				25	20		
20	15	AAK				20	15		
15	10	AAI				15	10		
10	5	AAJ				10	5		
5	0	AAK				5	0		

12 Month High	12 Month Low	Stock	Div	Yld	PE	100 High	100 Low	PA	OTC
110	105	AAR				110	105		
105	100	AAI				105	100		
100	95	AAJ				100	95		
95	90	AAK				95	90		
90	85	AAI				90	85		
85	80	AAJ				85	80		
80	75	AAK				80	75		
75	70	AAI				75	70		
70	65	AAJ				70	65		
65	60	AAK				65	60		
60	55	AAI				60	55		
55	50	AAJ				55	50		
50	45	AAK				50	45		
45	40	AAI				45	40		
40	35	AAJ				40	35		
35	30	AAK				35	30		
30	25	AAI				30	25		
25	20	AAJ				25	20		
20	15	AAK				20	15		
15	10	AAI				15	10		
10	5	AAJ				10	5		
5	0	AAK				5	0		

12 Month High	12 Month Low	Stock	Div	Yld	PE	100 High	100 Low	PA	OTC
110	105	AAR				110	105		
105	100	AAI				105	100		
100	95	AAJ				100	95		
95	90	AAK				95	90		
90	85	AAI				90	85		
85	80	AAJ				85	80		
80	75	AAK				80	75		
75	70	AAI				75	70		
70	65	AAJ				70	65		
65	60	AAK				65	60		
60	55	AAI				60	55		
55	50	AAJ				55	50		
50	45	AAK				50	45		
45	40	AAI				45	40		
40	35	AAJ				40	35		
35	30	AAK				35	30		
30	25	AAI				30	25		
25	20	AAJ				25	20		
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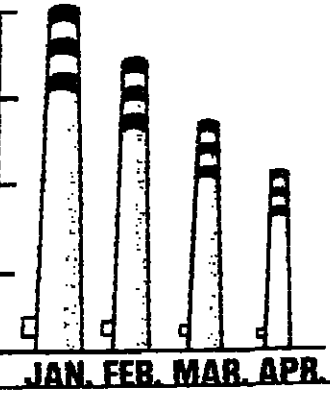
12 Month High	12 Month Low	Stock	Div	Yld	PE	100 High	100 Low	PA	OTC
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105	100	AAI				105	100		
100	95	AAJ				100	95		
95	90	AAK				95	90		
90	85	AAI				90	85		
85	80	AAJ				85	80		
80	75	AAK				80	75		
75	70	AAI				75	70		
70	65	AAJ				70	65		
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10	5	AAJ				10	5		
5	0	AAK				5	0		

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75	70	AAI				75	70		
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15	10	AAI				15	10		
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Radcliff, Pennsylvania 19201



12 Month High	12 Month Low	Stock	Div	Yld	PE	100 High	100 Low	PA	OTC
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105	100	AAI				105	100		
100	95	AAJ				100	95		
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80	75	AAK				80	75		
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## Kuwaitis Make Offer To Buy Grupo Torras

MADRID — The Kuwait Investment Office has made a bid to take over the Barcelona-based paper and investment company Grupo Torras SA, a KIO spokesman said Wednesday.

The offer price was not disclosed, but analysts said it was the largest bid in the history of the Madrid bourse. Torras is valued at about 150 billion pesetas (\$1.36 billion).

The KIO already owns a 40 percent controlling stake in Grupo Torras, which is its main investment vehicle in Spain.

The offer for all the shares KIO does not already own in Torras was made through the KIO-owned Dutch holding firms Koolmees Holding BV and Koolmees Holding BV.

The vice president of Torras, Javier de la Rosa, could keep his 15 percent stake in the company if shareholders react positively to the offer, he said.

Banco Santander holds 8 percent

## European Nations Lift Their Rates

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

BRUSSELS — Central banks in Belgium, Italy and the Netherlands moved Wednesday to raise short-term interest rates.

The Belgian National Bank raised its key three-month treasury certificate rate by 0.10 point to 10.25 percent, in an effort to hold the Belgian franc's parity against the Deutsche mark within the European Monetary System.

In a statement, the central bank said it also increased the rate on one- and two-month Treasury bills by 0.20 points, taking them to 10.25 percent as well. One-month and two-month Treasury certificates were raised by 0.20 percentage point to 10.25 percent, the national bank said.

A banking source said that as funds shift away from the weakening dollar, they gravitate to stronger world currencies, like the mark. That makes it more difficult for a smaller currency such as the franc, which is linked to the mark through the EMS's exchange-rate mechanism, to maintain its parity.

In Rome, the weighted average rate on the Bank of Italy's 3.5 trillion lire (\$2.7 billion) securities repurchase pact rose to 13.80 percent from 13.65 percent at the last tender on Dec. 15, the bank said.

In Amsterdam, the Dutch central bank said it raised its short-term money market rate to 8.3 percent from 8.1 percent. The higher rate was set on a new seven-day money market liquidity pact put out to tender and due to take effect on Thursday.

Dealers in Paris said the strength of the mark and seasonal factors kept French money market rates firm Wednesday and left financial markets worried about the trend in official rates in the New Year.

Although the central bank stands ready to provide emergency funds to eligible credit institutions at that rate, and banks took up the option Tuesday, call money opened at 11.063 percent. (Reuters, AP)

## France Targets Bond Market

Reuters

PARIS — The French Treasury wants to stimulate more interest among small savers in the government bond market, and may launch a syndicated French franc bond in 1990, the first since January 1988, market sources said Wednesday.

It may also offer another syndicated European currency unit bond, the sources added. The first such issue in May was a success with small investors who took up around 47 percent of the one billion ECU (\$1.18 billion) bond.

"The Treasury plans to syndicate more than one bond widely among the general public in 1990," a senior banker said.

The Treasury unveiled its 1990 funding plans Tuesday, when it said between 10 and 15 percent of the 90 billion to 110 billion francs (\$18.9 billion) it planned to raise would come through the issue of ECU bonds. Finance Minister Pierre Bérégovoy hopes to make Paris the main center for ECU trading.

Apart from the ECU issue, the Treasury has sold bonds in 1989 only at its monthly auctions, which

are dominated by primary dealers.

At a seminar last week, Thierry Aulagnon, assistant director of monetary and banking affairs at the Treasury, said the monthly auctions were leaving individuals cold.

He added that "it is necessary to maintain its direct link with the public."

The best way to do this, dealers said, would be for the Treasury to offer the small saver easier access to government stock through one of the large clearing banks and savings bank networks.

A five billion franc bond sold in this way in January 1988 met with great success.

In its statement Wednesday, the Treasury said it would continue with monthly top stock auctions, but it reserved the right to offer a bond through a bank syndicate rather than by auction. Treasury officials declined to comment on the likelihood of a syndicated issue.

The Treasury said it would open a new line of fungible 10-year ECU bonds, and would also offer further tranches of the 8.50 percent 1997 bond introduced in May. Total vol-

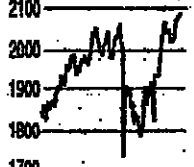
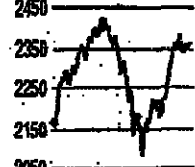
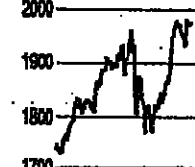
ume outstanding of this line after the sale by auction of two further tranches is 1.65 billion ECU, or 11.55 billion francs.

Auctions of the ECU issues will be held separately from the sale of conventional bonds. Dates will depend on market conditions, but the Treasury said there would be at least one each quarter. Dealers said that another large ECU issue would boost the volume of bonds deliverable against an ECU futures contract planned by the French market, Matif, for 1990.

However, this priority — and dealers said it appeared to be the Treasury rather than Matif itself — might rule out another ECU bond syndication.

The May syndication was so successful with the public, which has held on to its bonds, that a secondary market has been slow to develop even in Paris, and the French issue has not established itself as an international benchmark.

Last month the Treasury said it was studying a series of changes to stimulate foreign interest in the Treasury bill market.

Investor's Europe				
Frankfurt Commerzbank		London F.T. 100 Index	Paris C.A.C. 40	
				
J A S O N D 1989		J A S O N D 1989	J A S O N D 1989	
Exchange	Index	Wednesday Close	Prev. Close	% Change
Amsterdam	CBS General	184.90	182.60	+1.26
Brussels	Stock Index	6454.90	6441.39	+0.21
Frankfurt	Commerzbank	2139.30	2085.00	+2.60
Frankfurt	DAX	1771.44	1896.38	+4.43
Helsinki	UNITAS	626.20	628.60	-0.38
London	Financial Times 30	1896.90	1852.20	+1.86
London	FT-SE 100	2395.80	2362.00	+1.43
Madrid	General Index	296.77	296.88	-0.04
Milan	MB	1153	1151	+0.17
Paris	CAC 40	1985.66	1977.49	+0.41
Stockholm	Affaersvaeriden	1184.80	1148.60	+1.41
Zurich	SBS	656.30	653.50	+0.43

Sources: Datastream Reuters

Sources: Datastream, Reuters

International Herald Tribune

## West Germany's Top Hotel Being Sold to U.S. Investor

Agence France-Press

HAMBURG — West Germany's most prestigious hotel, the 175-room Vierjahreszeiten, or Four Seasons, is being sold to the Japanese-American investor Rocky Aoki under an agreement announced Wednesday.

The price Mr. Aoki is paying for the hotel on the edge of Lake Alster was not disclosed, but local press reports put it at around 210 million Deutsche marks (\$123.6 million).

Mr. Aoki, a former flyweight wrestling champion and owner of 76 restaurants around the world, reached agreement on the purchase with the Haefelin family, which owns the hotel.

The Vierjahreszeiten, with a staff of 450, was opened in 1897 and has been in the hands of the Haefelins ever since. Its cheapest room costs 275 Deutsche marks a night.

A hotel spokesman noted that the U.S. magazine Institutional Investor ranked the hotel as the best in Europe and second in the world, after the Oriental in Bangkok. Every Vierjahreszeiten client has his or her list of likes and dislikes noted. The actress Sophia Loren, for example, requires a kitchenette. The Italian tenor, Luciano Pavarotti, prefers an extra-large bed. The hotel's chandeliers are crystal, the wall hangings are pure silk and the rugs Persian.

## Florida's Freeze Damage Is Limited

By Elizabeth M. Fowler

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — The recent freezing weather has partly devastated the orange crop in Florida, which will drive up the price of orange juice. But a large Brazilian orange crop is expected to restrain the increases.

Some Florida officials said the damage was not so great as in disastrous freezes in December 1983 and January 1985.

"I don't think it was a tree-killing freeze," Dan Gutter, executive director of the Florida Department of Citrus, said.

But near-total losses were reported in crops of winter vegetables.

Growers in central Florida said thousands of acres of carrots, radishes, cauliflower and broccoli were destroyed. Most of those vegetables would have been shipped to the Northeast United States.

Beans, squash, corn, tomatoes and watermelon were also damaged, according to Florida's agriculture commissioner, Doyle Conner.

"With shortages, naturally prices will go up," he was quoted as saying. "I just hope we have enough fruit to keep a rather stable market."

On the orange juice position, Bernard Saviano, an analyst with Paine Webber Inc., said, "It is unusual for Brazil to cut its prices just before the freeze season starts in Florida. Ap-

parently the Brazilians did not want to be greedy this year and they needed the hard currency."

Officials in Texas estimate that 70 percent of the citrus crop there and 80 percent of the winter vegetable crop were destroyed by plunging temperatures over the weekend. The Associated Press reported.

Some state officials said losses in Texas were likely to exceed \$200 million. The harvest in Florida began at the start of December, but about 80 percent of the crop remains on the trees.

As a result, orange juice output will be cut by about 30 percent. Efforts to warm the crop have been hampered by power shortages.

Growers hope cool weather will remain for a week or so while the oranges are harvested.

The higher temperatures predicted for later in the week would hasten juice loss in the damaged fruit.

In October, the current 1989-90 Florida crop was estimated by the Department of Agriculture at 130 million boxes, each holding 90 pounds. That was down 11 percent from the previous season's 146.6 million boxes.

Earlier this month, Brazil, which harvests its orange crop beginning in June or July, officially announced a reduction of the price of its frozen orange juice to \$1.32 a pound as of Dec. 18, from \$1.37.

Brazil is now expected to rescind the price cuts, but its simple supplies will help contain prices, industry analysts said. At the start of the 1980s, Florida was the world's largest producer of orange juice for concentrate, but Brazil has overtaken it.

Florida produces more juice oranges than any other area of the United States. But the geography of its production has been changing.

The bad freezes in 1983 and 1985 pushed the citrus belt farther and farther south. Discouraged by losses from such freezes, growers have sold their acreage for development or turned to other crops.

Heating oil futures prices have surged in the wake of the blast at the Exxon Corp. refinery at Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

Supplies of home heating oil were tight before the explosion and the accelerated demand has pushed retail prices higher than \$1 a gallon in some areas.

## Blast at Refinery Lifts Oil Prices

The Associated Press

NEW YORK — A weekend explosion at the second-largest U.S. oil refinery and colder-than-normal temperatures have boosted heating-oil prices and raised the prospect of shortages.

Heating oil futures prices have surged in the wake of the blast at the Exxon Corp. refinery at Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

Supplies of home heating oil were tight before the explosion and the accelerated demand has pushed retail prices higher than \$1 a gallon in some areas.

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## French Bank Sold by ANZ to Italian Group

Agence France-Press

MELBOURNE — Australia and New Zealand Banking Group Ltd. said Wednesday it had sold its French retail banking subsidiary, Grindlays Bank SA, to the Italian financial house Monte dei Paschi di Siena.

Reg Nicholson, ANZ's group managing director, said that Monte dei Paschi di Siena had agreed to buy the Grindlays operation for an undisclosed price, subject to regulatory approval.

Grindlays Bank SA, which has 14 retail branches throughout France and has been in operation for 75 years, was part of the banking activities acquired by ANZ when it bought Grindlays Bank PLC in 1984.

Mr. Nicholson said that the retail nature of Grindlays Bank SA did not fit ANZ's corporate strategy of wholesale and cross-border banking in Europe.

Part of the arrangements with the Italian buyer included the retention of the staff at Grindlays Bank SA.

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## TOYS: Getting Serious About Fun

(Continued from first finance page)

dren, television and trends. They must also deal with outsiders.

But almost without exception, toy companies will deal with only the so-called professional investing community. Perhaps 100 to 125 people in the country who design toys for a living have proven themselves trustworthy, productive and knowledgeable about how the industry works.

Richard Levy, a Bethesda, Maryland-based professional investor who has marketed through toy companies a number of successful products, such as Advertising and Hot Lixx Guitars, said companies do not believe they are losing anything by ignoring the smaller investors.

"Companies don't want products, they want lines," Mr. Levy said, referring to a whole series of products based on a single character or concept. "The amount of money it takes to launch a product is astronomical and they want to be sure they are in it for the long haul."

Mr. Levy recently published "The Inventing and Patenting Sourcebook," a large reference book that outlines some of the basics of marketing an invention.

He published it, he said, because small inventors, a generally frustrated and unsuccessful group, are especially prone to the dangers of some disreputable invention-marketing firms that often advertise on late-night television trying to get money from unwitting investors. They ask exorbitant fees and accomplish nothing, Mr. Levy said.

The success of Nintendo also does not help the independent inventor, he said. "When Nintendo comes on the market and captures \$1 billion of the industry, it's not good for anything," he said.

Paul Valentine, an analyst who follows toy-company stocks for Standard & Poor's in New York, agreed: "It's been a rough couple of years for the American toy industry," he said. "Nintendo has really eaten their lunch — it's diverting attention away from traditional toys."

He said "there is a complaint in the industry that there is not enough willingness to take a risk."

Gary Niles, senior vice president at Lewis Galoob Toys Inc., a \$200 million-plus company in California, understands why the larger companies are so unwilling to take risks.

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## Seoul Cuts Surplus in U.S. Trade

**The Associated Press**  
SEOUL — South Korea's trade surplus with the United States edged to \$4.26 billion between January and November, from \$7.58 billion in the same period last year, the Korea Foreign Trade Association said Wednesday.  
The report said South Korea's trade surplus with the European Community also narrowed sharply, \$703 million from \$1.89 billion the same 11-month period last year.  
South Korea's trade deficit with Japan in the first 11 months grew to \$5 billion, from \$3.58 billion a year earlier, reversing a declining trend in the deficit during the preceding 10 months, the report said.  
South Korean exports have been sluggish since the start of this year because of the won's appreciation, a steep local wage increase, and market-opening measures for foreign goods have spurred imports.  
The government reported earlier that South Korea posted an overall trade surplus of \$265 million in the first 11 months of this year, only a sliver of the \$7.3 billion dollar surplus in January-November 1988.  
South Korean exports to the United States were listed at \$18.71 billion, down 1.9 percent from a year earlier, and imports from the United States reached \$14.44 billion, up 5.8 percent.  
Exports to the European Community declined 9.4 percent, to \$6.2 billion, while imports from the region rose 9.3 percent to \$5.91 billion.  
South Korean exports to Japan edged up 12.6 percent, to \$12.24 billion, with imports from Japan rising 10 percent, to \$15.89 billion.

## Philippine Deficit Doubles

**Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches**  
MANILA — The Philippines' trade deficit soared to \$2.2 billion in the first 10 months of 1989, double the figure for the same period last year, the National Statistics Office said Wednesday.  
Imports from January to October totaled \$8.64 billion, up 26.8 percent from the year before, while exports amounted to \$6.44 billion, 12 percent annual increase, the statistics office said.  
The Business Star newspaper said the deficit was caused largely by rising demand from industrial and manufacturing firms for machinery, raw materials and petroleum, as well as automobile imports.  
The country recorded a \$541 million

## Shoring Up Afghan Currency

### Kabul Takes Drastic Measures as Bazaar Prices Spiral

**Agence France-Press**  
KABUL — Afghanistan has announced sweeping measures to shore up its crumbling foreign reserves after hard-currency prices rose sharply on the money bazaar, which virtually dictates the direction of the country's economy.  
The economic crackdown came amid reports of intense buying by the government and the private sector from the bazaar, where the dollar now costs 525 afghani, more than double last December's market rate of 225.  
This price is also about 125 afghani more than a month ago, while the British pound has moved up 80 afghani, to 521, in the same period.  
The Government banks, in buying or selling dollars to diplomatic missions in Kabul, continue to use the official rate of 55 afghani to the dollar, which dates back 30 years.  
The government's economic measures seek to stem a trend that is threatening to inject unprecedented inflation into the war-torn country. Bank officials here said they were unlikely to be effective.  
"People are massing dollars from the bazaar," an Export Promotion Bank official said, and diplomats confirmed reports of hectic activity in the bazaar.  
"The bazaar has gone quite mad and if it continues the Afghan currency would be nothing but shreds of printed paper," a Finance Ministry official said.  
But he denied reports of clandestine large-scale buying of dollars from the free bazaar by ministries and state-run corporations, adding that the Kabul administration purchases between \$4 and \$5 million from the market a year.

"The wheels of our economy have not stopped," the prime minister, Sultan Ali Kistmand, said in an interview, "though a number of

economic institutions are not operating and our defense expenses take away part of development funds."

He blamed the current financial position, including the fall of the afghani, on economic sabotage per-

**The war-torn country is threatened by unprecedented inflation.**

petrated by the mujahidin resistance and their allies, particularly Pakistan.

"Prices have gone up and the fixed-income groups are suffering most," he said.

The cabinet recently stopped government firms buying dollars from the bazaar and advised them to purchase foreign currency from banks in an attempt to check spiraling prices in the bazaar, a government spokesman said.

The sweeping measures also included provisions for the purchase of dollar earnings of domestic exporters at the prevailing market price and not at the bank rate, currently 126 afghani less than the bazaar rate, the spokesman said.

He said the measure would en-

courage exports, build foreign-exchange reserves and improve the balance of trade, but did not disclose Kabul's current foreign reserves, widely believed to have significantly shrunk since last year.

Mr. Kistmand said Kabul was attempting to revive defunct economic institutions and raise new ones.

Private traders have also been invited to sell exportable items to the government at the bazaar dollar rates. The Finance and Trade ministries have been ordered to encourage exports through the partial stripping of customs duties and the government's commissions on export goods.

"These new rules will never work," a senior official of Da Afghanistan Bank, the country's central bank, said. The seven nationalized banks would be unable to pay exporters at bazaar rates.

"Moreover, there are very few exporters," the banker said. "Every industry, every corporation and government firm is only importing through us." He added that this was causing the foreign trade deficit to widen.

In 1988, Afghanistan imported goods valued at \$694.4 million, while exports were worth only \$394.7 million.

In the first six months of 1989, imports reached \$373 million, against exports of \$104.9 million, indicating a worsening trade gap.

## Diversification Urged In Singapore Markets Before Growth Slows

**Agence France-Press**  
SINGAPORE — Singapore must take stronger measures to diversify its export markets to counter an expected drop in its economic growth rate in 1990, according to a Hong Kong-based consulting group.

In its latest risk report on Singapore, Political and Economic Risk Consultants projected real gross domestic product growth of 7 percent in 1990, down from 8.7 percent this year.

Government officials have said they expect GDP growth to reach 9 percent for 1989.

The independent consultant's risk report saw cause for concern in Singapore's failure to free the economy from over-dependence on the U.S. market, which over the years has accounted for a steady 30 percent of domestic exports in value terms.

While prospects in the financial and business-services sector look bright, "Singapore would be wise to seek out a complementary rather than a competitive relationship with powerful world market interests in Tokyo," the report said.

"The Singapore economy has reached a peak in its economic growth cycle," it said. "The growth rate is expected to ease up next year in tandem with a drop in interna-

tional demand, caused mainly by a winding down of the American and Japanese economies.

"Singapore, in common with many other Asian economies, will thus be forced to take stronger measures to diversify its export markets," the report said.

A critical issue in the coming months will be the year-end split between the Stock Exchange of Singapore and the Kuala Lumpur Stock Exchange, it said.

The analysts said their reservations centered on the Singapore exchange's plans to introduce an over-the-counter market in January to trade in foreign shares, including Malaysian, Hong Kong, Thai and Australian stocks.

"Malaysia may well see this move as an attempt to subvert national policies," the report said.

The report also forecast continuing labor shortages and ever-higher salary bills for employers.



Sources: Datastream, Reuters, AFP  
International Herald Tribune

## Foreign Money Flows to Indonesia

**Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches**

JAKARTA — Foreign investment in Indonesia rose to a record high of \$4.53 billion in 1989, as small and medium-sized companies were attracted by low costs and economic deregulation, officials said Wednesday.

The chairman of the Investment Coordinating Board, Sanyoto Sasrowardoyo, said 264 foreign investment projects worth \$4.53 billion had been approved as of Dec. 21.

That compared with 145 projects valued at \$4.41 billion in 1988, including three major projects worth \$2.4 billion, Mr. Sanyoto said.

Mr. Sanyoto said that although total foreign investment increased by just 2.7 percent this year, it included only one major project — a Japanese-Dutch oilfield plant worth \$1.5 billion.

The remaining \$3.03 billion came from mostly small and medium-sized firms on the western Pacific rim

that were seeking government incentives and reforms, he added.

Japan was the largest individual source of foreign investment in 1989, with 53 projects worth \$668 million, followed by South Korea with 58 projects worth \$460 million, and Hong Kong with 13 projects worth \$348 million.

"We're very confident and optimistic that the prospects for foreign investment in Indonesia will be better than this year" in 1990, Mr. Sanyoto said, citing the country's comparative advantages in raw material resources, low labor costs, free currency and a continuously improving investment climate brought about by deregulation measures started since 1983.

The recent upheavals in Eastern Europe and the widely touted business opportunities there would not affect foreign investment too much, he said, since Indonesia could still expect to attract investors from the Pacific region.

(AFP, Reuters)

## Japan Will Send an Official To Discuss New China Loans

**Reuters**

TOKYO — Japan will send a senior Foreign Ministry official to China early next year to discuss a possible resumption of official new credits to Beijing, Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu told an opposition member of the legislature.

"We are going to go ahead with planned new loans to China," the daily Nihon Keizai Shimbun quoted Mr. Kaifu as telling Hideo Den, the opposition member. Mr. Den's secretary confirmed the report.

Japan's new attitude is in line with moves by the United States to normalize ties with China. The World Bank is also showing greater willingness to resume lending.

Mr. Kaifu told Mr. Den that a special Foreign Ministry team is now working on loan projects for China. The projects would come under a pending loan package worth \$10 billion yen (\$5.67 billion) that Japan had previously pledged, the secretary said.

Talks on the new five-year loan, which was to take effect from the fiscal year beginning April 1, were

virtually frozen after the military crackdown on pro-democracy demonstrators in Beijing last June.

Tokyo had also suspended all other new official credit to China.

Mr. Den, who has just returned from meetings with senior Chinese leaders in Beijing, told Mr. Kaifu the Chinese leaders felt strongly that Japan should resume new loans, according to the secretary.

Mr. Kaifu said Japan also plans to invite a senior Chinese official to discuss the loan progress, he said.

Foreign ministry officials declined to comment.

"We will carefully watch various developments in deciding on whether to resume new credit to China," a ministry official said.

Officials at the World Bank have said it was taking steps toward the resumption of lending to China, following the lifting of U.S. sanctions against the Beijing government on Dec. 19. Because of the World Bank's prestige as the biggest lender to the Third World, its approval would act as a green light for lending by other organizations.

## Soviets Sign China Deals

**Agence France-Press**

HONG KONG — A Soviet trade delegation has signed eight joint-venture projects with China that also involve Taiwan interests, according to reports Wednesday.

The reports, quoting the official Xinhua news service, said the agreements were signed in Guangzhou on Tuesday between a seven-member trade delegation from Leningrad, two trading firms in Guangzhou and the special economic zone of Shenzhen, which borders Hong Kong.

Xinhua said the agreement for a Guangzhou-based trading company was a joint venture project with

Taiwan, but gave no further details.

Under the agreements, the Soviet Union will jointly set up with Chinese partners in Guangzhou textiles, electronics and lumber factories, while the Chinese side will set up a color-film processing center, a Chinese restaurant, a beauty salon and a health and rehabilitation center.

The Soviet delegation left on Tuesday after a 10-day visit.

Trade between the two countries has quadrupled in the past seven years, hitting \$2.8 billion in 1988 and making the Soviet Union China's fifth-largest trading partner.

## Car Imports Soar In Taiwan Market

**Agence France-Press**

TAIPEI — A record 149,500 imported cars were sold in Taiwan in the first 11 months of 1989, a 48 percent rise over the year-earlier period, according to statistics compiled by Ford Lio Ho Motor Co.

The imports accounted for 43.9 percent of the domestic market, the automaker said Wednesday.

The expanding market, fueled by growing affluence of consumers, posed a tough challenge to Taiwan's nine local automakers, analysts said. They also attributed the popularity of foreign-made cars to tariff cuts

## AMEX

**Wednesday's Closing**

Prices include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect late trading elsewhere. Via The Associated Press

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## SPORTS

## Holtz Says Ismail Unlikely to Play in Orange Bowl

By Sally Jenkins

MIAMI — If it was another of Lou Holtz's deceptions as coach of Notre Dame, it was intriguing. While Holtz drove the Fighting Irish through a punishing practice session of more than 2½ hours Tuesday, all-America flanker Raghib (Rocket) Ismail was used sparingly because of a separated shoulder and, according to Holtz, may not even play in the Orange Bowl against No. 1 Colorado.

Holtz said Ismail, the sophomore with searing speed and big play ability is listed as questionable for the game on New Year's Day that holds national title implications. "We are planning on going without him on a steady basis," Holtz said after his team's first practice for the game.

But Colorado's coach, Bill McCartney, said he expected Isma-

il to play, and Holtz's players joked about Ismail's status, by their accounts less questionable than Holtz made it sound.

"Can he walk? Did he even make the trip?" offensive lineman Tim Grunhard said, wryly. "Coach Holtz likes to do that stuff sometimes."

Ismail denied that this was one of Holtz's notorious psychological exercises. "I only wish it was," he said. Asked about his teammates' skepticism, he said, "They don't run the team."

Ismail was hurt Nov. 25 in Notre Dame's 27-10 loss to No. 2 Miami, which ended the defending national champions' 23-game winning streak and topped them from No. 1 in the rankings to No. 4. The injury went undiscovered and untreated for several days, since the Irish did not convene again until they began to prepare for the Orange Bowl. Ismail said he thought it

was just residual soreness, until X-rays revealed the separation.

"Game soreness you don't think anything about," he said. "But it stayed with me. It was worse than I originally thought."

If he can't play, the Irish will be deprived of a crucial facet of their offense. Ismail is not only a flanker who caught 27 passes for 535 yards, he rushed for 478 yards on 64 carries as a tailback, an average of 7.5 yards. And he is most dangerous as a kickoff and punt returner, against Michigan returning kickoffs for touchdowns of 89 and 92 yards.

"You're talking about only five or six weeks since a shoulder separation," Holtz said. "Rocket's the type of guy you have to throw out of practice... I'll say this: I don't ever con you, I don't tell you something that isn't true."

"He can possibly play in the

game. We may find out in the game that he can do some things we didn't think he could, but I doubt it. I'm fanatical about practice, and if he can't practice, he'll be a spot player at best."

While Ismail's status remained a mystery for the moment, the Irish are certain to be without two other starters, defensive tackle Bob Dahl and defensive end Andre Jones.

They did not take part in Notre Dame's on-campus practices, having been academically overburdened with preparations for final exams last week. Holtz said they had missed too much of the preparation for Colorado and will not be allowed to play. That severely undermines the defense because another starter, linebacker Donn Grimm, is listed as questionable with a sprained ankle.

"If you can't handle both football and academics, then you do the academics," Holtz said. "You have to be able to handle both. The worst thing we can do is make a young man take an exam unprepared. But you don't want to be unprepared for Colorado either."

The Irish did not practice during final exams, which ended Dec. 21. That left them less time to get ready for Colorado than Holtz would like. So he began to try to make up for it Tuesday with his marathon practice, which lasted 2 hours 40 minutes. He ended the session with intense goal-line drills, and pledged to continue working the players at this pace.

"I guarantee you, they aren't in a good mood," Holtz said. "We couldn't have put them in a cage and poked them with a stick to make them react more. It's going to be a delicate week down here between practice and mutiny."

## 8 Razorbacks In 6-Car Crash Escape Injury

The Associated Press

DALLAS — Eight members of the Cotton Bowl-bound Arkansas football team escaped injury when the three automobiles in which they were riding were involved in a six-car pileup.

The players were traveling from Little Rock to Dallas on Tuesday morning to begin preparations for the game against Tennessee.

Defensive back Anthony Cooney said he told his teammates at a gas station in Texarkana, Texas, to put on their seat belts. A few hours later, Cooney's car was demolished at the intersection of Interstate 30 and I-35 in downtown Dallas.

Last August, Cooney had been involved in a head-on collision on Arkansas Highway 16, from Little Rock to Fayetteville.

"I'll remember that until the day I die," he said. "I'm an advocate of seat belts because both times I was saved by a seat belt."

Offensive tackle Curtis Johnson was driving Cooney's car and defensive back Michael James was in the back seat when a diesel truck collided with a car in front of them, the players said.

Backup quarterback Gary Adams and Sederie Fillmore and line-backer John Williamson were in Adams' car. Adams said his car sustained minor damage after swerving to avoid the accident.

A third car carrying running back James Rouse and guard McFord English skidded into the pile-up.

"Everyone was stopping," Cooney said. "It was a chain reaction. There was nowhere to go, left or right. It was bumper to bumper."

Passing motorists, recognizing the players because Johnson was wearing his jersey, greeted them with shouts, the players said.

"People as they were going by started screaming, 'Go play for the Cowboys,'" Cooney said. "You could hear them from the other side of the interstate. 'Go play for the Cowboys.' I didn't know people hated the Cowboys that much around here now, but I could see that."

"Some of the people stopped to see if we were O.K. That's one thing that lifted our spirits."

The Cowboys, who were bought by Arkansas oilman Jerry Jones in February, finished the National Football League season with a 1-15 record, the team's worst.

## SIDELINES

## Bond's Yacht Regains Lead in Race

SYDNEY (Combined Dispatches) — Alan Bond's maxi yacht Drumbeat, powered by 35 knot winds, regained the lead in the Sydney-Hobart race Wednesday and remained on course to break the 14-year-old race record.

Defending champion Ragamuffin and Marashiten, the first Japanese entry in the ocean racing classic, had overhauled Bond's boat overnight after Drumbeat missed out on gale-force winds by sailing further offshore than the rest of the fleet.

But Drumbeat found the stronger breezes on Wednesday's afternoon and, at latest report, still had 383 miles (616 kilometers) of the 630-mile course to go, with the record of 2 days, 14 hours and 37 minutes set by U.S. yacht Kialoa in 1975 in its sights. (Reuters, UPI)

## New Zealand Gets Backing on Cup

NEW YORK (Reuters) — A group of skippers who have won the prestigious America's Cup sailing competition are lending their support to New Zealand in its legal battle against a U.S. court decision returning the trophy to San Diego.

In a filing made with New York State's highest court, 12 skippers and yachting clubs are asking the judges to overturn a lower court ruling that allowed the San Diego Yacht Club to recover the 1988 America's Cup. In their petition, the group said that if the previous holding is allowed to stand it will "reduce the America's Cup to a piece of memorabilia and spell an end to a legendary competition that has endured for well over a century."

Among those who have filed a "friend of the court" brief supporting New Zealand are Robert Bavier Jr., skipper of the Constellation when it won the 1964 America's Cup; John Bertrand, skipper of the Australia II, which won in 1983; Briggs Cunningham, skipper of the Columbia when it won in 1958; William Ficker, skipper of the Intrepid that won in 1970; and Frederick Hood, skipper of the Courageous that won in 1974.

## Dinamo Bucharest's Future in Doubt

THE HAGUE, Netherlands (Reuters) — Dinamo Bucharest, the Romanian soccer team that has reached the quarterfinals of the European Cup Winners' Cup tournament, likely will have to be disbanded because of its links with Nicolae Ceausescu's notorious Securitate, a Romanian soccer coach said in an interview published Wednesday.

Mircea Petescu, a former player with Steaua Bucharest now coaching in the Netherlands, told the newspaper Dutch Trouw that Dinamo, which has won the Romanian league title 12 times, could have problems with its March 7 quarterfinal first leg match against Partizan Belgrade in Bucharest. Petescu said he did not believe Dinamo players worked as security police, but added: "Everything with the name Dinamo is automatically associated with the police in Romania."

## For the Record

Koji Kitao, the former yokozuna (grand champion) who quit Japan's traditional sumo wrestling under a cloud two years ago, will make his debut as a pro wrestler Feb. 10, the New Japan Pro Wrestling Co. said Wednesday. (AP)

Glaxo Vero announced Wednesday that it has signed American player Greg Stokes for the remaining 16 rounds of the Italian basketball league. Stokes, 26, transferred from NBA's Sacramento Kings; financial terms were not disclosed. (AP)

Hisham Abdel-Rasoul, Egypt's midfielder, will be unable to play in the World Cup soccer finals after breaking his leg in several places in a car accident, doctors said Wednesday in Cairo. Egypt is in Group F with England, the Netherlands and Ireland. (Reuters)

## Quotable

Bo Schenckel, Michigan football coach and athletic director, complaining that Big Ten university presidents used a "buddy system" to vote Penn State into the conference: "In the next five years, the presidents will completely confuse the field of intercollegiate athletics. Then, they'll dump it on the athletic directors and say, 'You straighten this out.' Then, by about the year 2000, it may be back on track again." (AP)

## NHL Devils' 3d Soviet Has First Seeing Red

By Alex Yannis

NEW YORK — The New Jersey Devils of the National Hockey League have signed another Soviet defenseman, to the consternation of their more famous Soviet player, Alexei Kasatonov.

Alexei Kasatonov was signed Dec. 11, but the Devils kept it a secret until Tuesday when all necessary paperwork was completed.

Viacheslav Fetisov, whom the Devils signed last summer and is perhaps the best known of all Soviet players, said the signing of the 30-year-old Kasatonov would upset the team's chemistry and was distracted with the signing of the 30-year-old Kasatonov.

"I'm not happy," Fetisov said. "There is good atmosphere with the team now. This is a good, stable team now."

A rift had developed between Fetisov and Kasatonov over the last two years because Kasatonov didn't support Fetisov and other Soviet players who wanted to leave the Soviet Union to join NHL teams.

Lou Lamoriello, the president and general manager of the Devils, said, however, that the chemistry of the team would "under no circumstances" be upset by Kasatonov's signing.

But John Cuniff, the coach of

the Devils, said he wasn't sure what would happen, that he didn't know whether Fetisov's disenchantment with Kasatonov would affect the team's play.

In any event, the Devils didn't take any chances. They assigned Kasatonov to their minor league team, the Utica (New York) Devils of the American Hockey League.

The explanation for Kasatonov's immediate dispatch to Utica was that he needed conditioning and needed to acclimate himself to life in the United States.

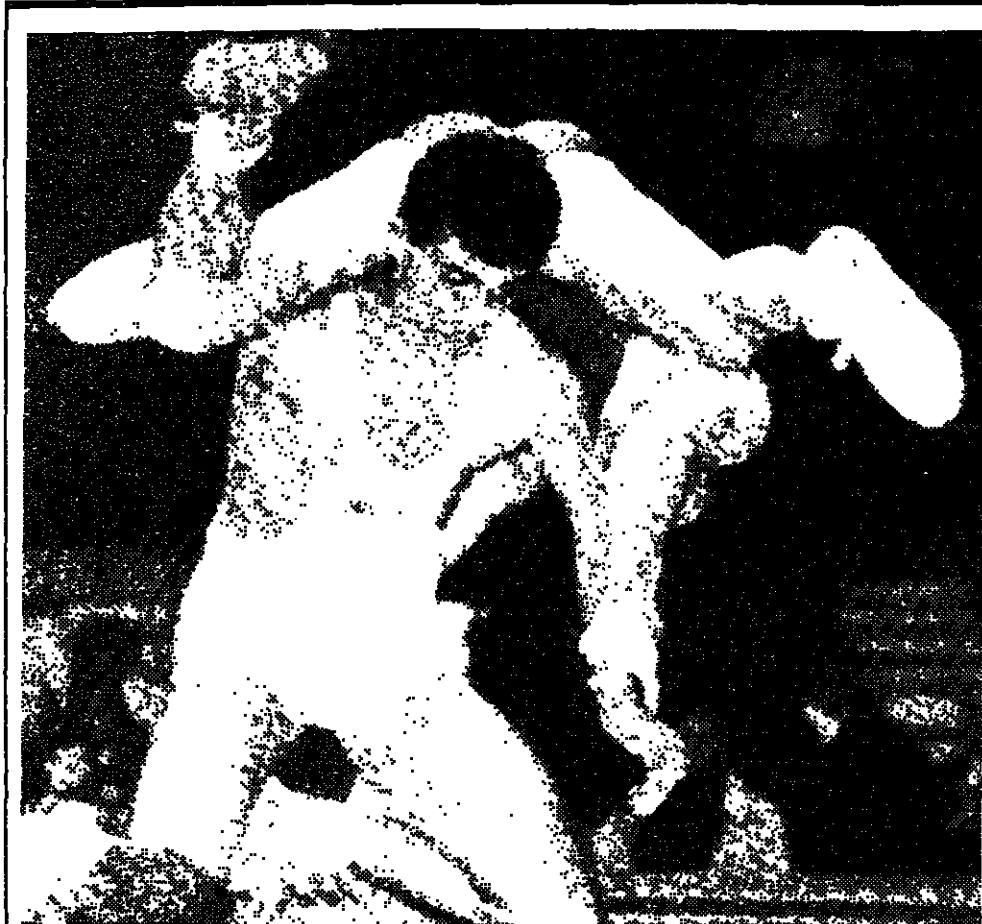
Sergei Starikov, who was signed by the Devils last July along with Fetisov, was also sent to Utica, also for conditioning.

Fetisov, who had urged the Devils to sign Starikov, showed amazement about Starikov's assignment to Utica. "I'm going to Utica next!" he asked reporters.

Lamoriello kept with team policy of not revealing details of Kasatonov's contract. He said, however, that he dealt directly with the player and nothing was paid to the Soviet hockey federation.

Kasatonov comes to the Devils after 12 seasons with the Central Red Army team, where he played with Fetisov and Starikov.

He joined the national team in 1979, playing in three Olympics and winning two gold medals.



WINDFALL — U.S. Olympic champion John Smith defeating six-time world champion Sergei Beloglazov, 6-2, Tuesday in the \$65,000 World Wrestling Grand Championships in Pittsburgh. The Soviet wrestler had ended a year's retirement to enter the richest meet in the sport's history.

## BOOKS

## FREUD'S VIENNA: And Other Essays

By Bruno Bettelheim. 384 pages. \$22.95. Alfred A. Knopf, 201 East 50th Street, New York, N. Y. 10022.

Reviewed by D.M. Thomas

A PRISONER at Dachau before the war, Bruno Bettelheim paid a return visit in 1955. Having gained the impression that Germans were resisting the truth of what had happened, he piled his taxi driver with skeptical questions in a strong Viennese accent. To his relieved surprise, the driver dismissed the phony skepticism: He himself was a native of Dachau, and terrible things had indeed happened. He felt tainted by association: Why had the Nazis chosen his town? "It was all because of an old farmer and his good-for-nothing sons, who did not know how to till the soil." They had sold their farm to the government, before the first world war, and a munitions factory had been built there. The Nazis took it over because it already had a barracks and barbed wire. Simple convenience. And now it was a convenient refugee camp.

The idea that a lazy farmer "caused" the evil we know as Dachau is disturbing, just because it rings true to our surreal century. Bettelheim never veers from the truth as he sees it; and his vision is as trustworthy as any man's could be. As a psychoanalyst he would approve of that note of reservation. Servant truth, he also

admits that the return to Dachau left him cold; he could not connect it with the suffering, including his own, that had occurred there.

Less naively than his taxi driver, he loves to trace events back to a pragmatic starting point. Thus, he did not initially study psychoanalysis because he loved its ideas, but because of a girl. She was entranced by a young man who could spout psychoanalysis, and so Bettelheim, burning with jealousy, thought he had better mug it up. His romance with the girl died; his romance with psychoanalysis became a lifelong passion. Again, in an essay called "A Secret Asymmetry," concerning the relationship of Sabina Spielrein with Jung and Freud, he suggests persuasively that Jung came to deny the overwhelming importance of sexuality as a consequence of having denied, to Freud and perhaps himself, his sexual feelings for Sabina. She, we know, continued to try to bring Freud and Jung together after the collapse of her affair with the latter; and Bettelheim follows her in suggesting that what divided the two men were more "the vagaries of complicated personal relations" than "valid theoretical differences."

Jung comes out badly in this essay, which skillfully unveils his lies and evasions. "Spielrein" means in German "play-clean." Jung at first did not reveal her name to Freud—perhaps because he was conscious that he had played dirty with her. His claim, to her mother, that he would behave with propriety if only

he was paid for analyzing her, strikes Bettelheim as not decent. Decency is a vital concept for him. It was Miep Giesse's decency that made her help the Frank family to hide; decency that prevented her from reading Anne's diary when it first came into her hands, at a time when if she had read it she would have had to destroy it to protect others.

Some of these essays are new, but most have been gathered from various publications over many years. The collection is in three parts, reflecting the author's preoccupations: "On Freud and Psychoanalysis," "On Children and Myself," and "On Jews and the Camps." In Freud's Vienna he argues that psychoanalysis could only have arisen in that city at that time. The weakening of empire and the strengthening of culture meant that life became internalized. At this moment of tensions, death and sex were a mingled scent; the crown prince, Rudolph, made love to a mistress then killed her and himself, so ending the imperial line. Fruitful soil for Freud.

It is good to be reminded, in another essay, of Lionel Trilling's profound understanding of Freud's humanism and the essential poetry of his discoveries; and to be reminded, in these post-structuralist times, of how pleasurable literary criticism can be.

D.M. Thomas's books include "The White Hotel" and the just-finished quintet of novels, "Russian Nights." He wrote this for The Washington Post.

## BRIDGE

By Alan Truscott

A 23-year-old record was decisively erased 11 days ago when Sabine Zenkel won three sectional events. This gave her the Life Master title eight weeks after joining the American Contract Bridge League, breaking the record established by the late Jeremy Flint of England in 1966. She had a more difficult task than Flint, because the necessary 300 master points must now include 50 won at sectional level, where the payoff for victory is smaller. The diagrammed deal was played earlier, while winning a sectional Swiss Teams. Zenkel sat South. West's cuebid of two hearts was Michaels, showing length in spades and a minor suit. Two spades was a counter-cuebid, promising heart support with at least invitational values. The opening lead of the diamond king was won with the ace in dummy, and the play of the ace and queen of hearts revealed the bad split. South could afford to lose one club trick but not two. She survived by finessing the club six and was rewarded when the four appeared on her left. She later finessed the club queen to make the game. The deep finesse was due to win whenever East held both the jack and the ten, whereas the alternative play of finessing the queen only gains against a singleton jack or ten with West. Both plays obviously succeed if the suit splits 3-2 and East has the king. In the replay, Zenkel's teammates sacrificed in four spades, doubled for a loss of 330 and a gain of 8 imps.

NORTH			
♠ K104	♥ A Q 7	♦ A 8 3	♣ 9 8 5 2
WEST (D)			
♠ Q 10 3 2	♥ 7 6 5	♦ 9 8 6 4	♣ 10
♠ 9 2	♥ K Q 7 5 4	♦ 3	♣ J 10 3
SOUTH			
♠ A 8 7	♥ 8 5 2 2	♦ 9 3	♣ A Q 7 6

North and South were vulnerable.

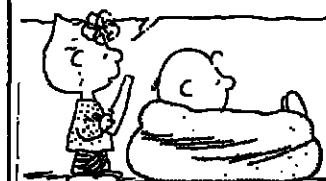
The bidding:

South	West	North	East
10	20	20	Pass
3	Pass	40	Pass

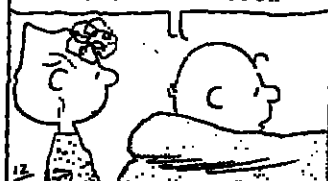
West led the diamond king.

## PEANUTS

I WANT TO WRITE TO GRAMPA AND GRAMMA, BUT I DON'T KNOW WHAT TO CALL THEM...



DON'T WORRY ABOUT IT... THEY'LL JUST BE GLAD TO HEAR FROM YOU.



Dear old folks,

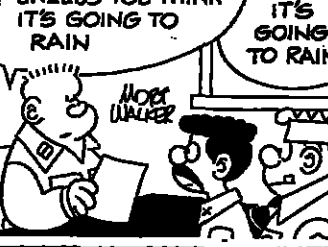


## BEETLE BAILEY

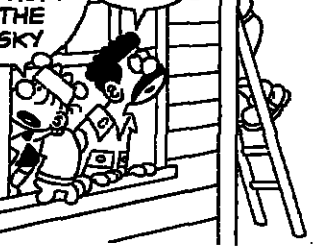
THE BALL'S STUCK IN THE GUTTER



I'LL GET THE LADDER



WE'LL PLAN A HIKE TOMORROW UNLESS YOU THINK IT'S GOING TO RAIN

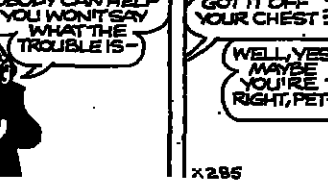


## ANDY CAPP

YOU LOOK LIKE YOU'RE IN TROUBLE



IT'S OBVIOUS YOU'VE GOT A LOT ON YOUR MIND



BOTTLING IT UP NEVER WORKS



## WIZARD of ID

I'M TAKING A SPEED-READING COURSE



WHAT GOOD WILL THAT DO?



NOW HE CAN FORGET TWICE AS MUCH IN HALF THE TIME



## REX MORGAN

DO YOU MIND TAKING ME TO THE KITCHEN WHERE I CAN GET A GLASS OF WATER?



THAT WOULD BE NICE! TELL ME, BOBBY, WHERE IS YOUR DAD?



NO...BUT I WISH I DID!



## GARFIELD

FOR THE NEW YEAR, I RESOLVE TO BE MORE POLITE TO DOGS



KICK!



EXCUSE ME!



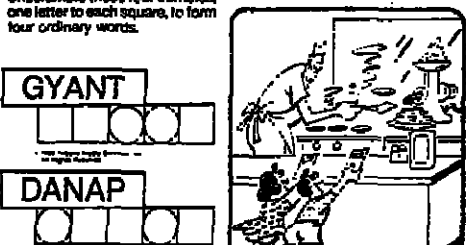
## DENNIS THE MENACE

LOST & FOUND



## JUMBLE

Unscramble these four Jumble words, one letter to each square, to form four ordinary words.



Print answer here: THE

(Answers tomorrow)

Yesterday's Jumble: FUNNY BUMPY REBUKE TROPHY

Answer: What happened when nylon stockings were first introduced? THERE WAS A "RUN" ON THEM

## BLONDIE

FOR THE NEW YEAR, I'VE MADE OUR NEW CHART OF OUR ENTIRE ORGANIZATION



## EVERY EMPLOYEE

IS ON HERE



CAN'T YOU TELL?



YOU'RE THE PINHEAD RIGHT HERE



"ANYBODY TURN IN A MOTHER, YET?"



## SPORTS

## His Inner Flaws Cast Martin as the Victim in Life and Death

WASHINGTON — Let's go back seven years to when Billy Martin was reigning manager of the Yankees. Flying high in Oakland, Billy returns home to glory. Come see Billyball. One day Billy got angry about something — a defeat, a contract. Who knows, who remembers? With Billy, it was always a blur. Anyway, this particular time he locked the door behind him and went 10 rounds with his office. Walls. Furniture. Pictures. Billy hit 'em with both hands. The office won.

Sure, Billy smashed everything. He showed that office. But when he came out, his hands were bleeding. Fingers were broken.

The next day, his hands were bandaged and several fingers splinted. Sheepishly, he explained the incident to reporters. As usual, he made up the story as he went along. Some truth. Some not. Some of the stuff, he probably couldn't tell the difference. Had he known why he did it, then he wouldn't have been Billy Martin, would he?

Then, a journeyman named Dave McKay stuck his head into Martin's office.

"Excuse me, skip," said McKay, seriously. "Want to go bowling tonight?"

Martin laughed until he almost cried.

## VANTAGE POINT/Thomas Boswell

That was Billy Martin. One day, he would punch the walls. Or spit into the wind. Or kick dirt on an umpire. Or punch a marshallman. Or call his own a convicted liar. Or try to strangle Reggie Jackson in the dugout on national television. Or get his arm broken by one of his pitchers. Or get thrown out of a strip joint on his ear. Or invent some self-justifying story so improbable he could barely tell it with a straight face.

Then, the next day — or, sometimes, when the pain was too great, the next year — he would tell some bitter joke about the episode. He might even make a television commercial in which he looked into the camera with disbelief and said, "I didn't punch that dog." Sometimes even he couldn't believe the crazy, self-destructive things he did.

We're not talking here about the full range of Martin's misbehaviors. He actually was proud of many of his "vices." To do anything to win was within his code of honor. So, cheating or lying were next to godliness in his book. Having too much to drink, womanizing, getting in

fights and backstabbing his enemies were also part and parcel of being a little tough-guy ball player in his era.

Real Yankees, like Joe DiMaggio, Mickey Vernon or Whitford Ford, never would hold that against a regular guy from the wrong side of the tracks. Billy knew he had the morals of an alley cat. What spoiled him was fighting rooms, getting himself fired, running the thing he loved to do and did extremely well: manage a baseball team.

There's a scene in "The Hustler" — a Billy kind of movie — in which Fast Eddie Felson, the tough kid from Oakland played by Paul Newman, tries to drown his sorrows and work out his self-loathing by hustling the low-life pool sharks in a sidewalk drive. After he wins their money, and mocks them by showing just how great he is, they break his thumbs.

"Why'd I do it, Sarah?" Fast Eddie pleads, holding up his damaged hands. "I could have beat 'em and they'd never have known it. But I just had to show 'em."

Fast Eddie was a "loser," finding excuses for

never reaching his goals either in pool or life. He gets wise to himself, but Billy the Kid never did. He just kept going back to Yankee Stadium to lose to New York Fats.

Eventually, Martin's notorious mean streak got worse. His charm and managerial intelligence showed through less often. And his plumes into the demoniac became more exotic.

Turpene once explained the flaw in one of his unfortunates by saying, "He could not simply himself."

Martin couldn't either. Whatever his demons and wherever they came from, they owned him at those crucial moments in his life when he headed toward the rocks. Perhaps no man can bear to remain a permanent mystery to himself. So Martin built huge castles of rationales.

With the years, his explanations of his fights and feuds and misfortunes became increasingly bizarre. He was a man trying to convince himself that "they" were out to get him. Or else he vowed that he had turned himself as a victim in his own mind until, finally, he really became a walking victim — the proverbial accident waiting to happen.

On Christmas night, he and his accident had their rendezvous. He lived recklessly, excessively,

so it's not surprising that he died in the passenger seat of a pickup truck driven by a friend who was charged with driving while intoxicated. For some, 61 is young. For Martin it was very old.

Let's set to the side the past few years in which the maelstrom of his life became a tightening downward spiral. Instead, let's turn our eyes to the years from 1969 to 1985 when he rebuilt so many bad teams that it almost seemed an indictment of baseball that a man like Martin could be so good at it. Innocent, wandering unaware into sports, continually being pushed by him: the best manager God never made. As Mae West said when asked about her legendary good luck, "Goodness had nothing to do with it."

Perhaps Earl Weaver paid the best tribute to Martin back when they were arch rivals. "Martin's teams don't have any particular style," Weaver said. "That's why he's so good."

"Look at the teams he's had in Minnesota, Detroit, Texas, New York and Oakland. The first thing you notice is that no two of them are alike. Martin always looks at his talent first, then manages accordingly. He sees what he's got, then he starts filling in the missing parts of the puzzle."

It doesn't take him long because he's got such a clear idea of what he's got and what he needs.

There was never any such thing as "Billyball." There was only baseball. The full text, learned over decades. Martin knew almost every page, not just the ones on spitballs or guerrilla warfare. He taught whatever chapters in the total text served him best.

For many years, until he hooked up with the Yankees' owner, George Steinbrenner, Martin could fairly have been described as fiery, combative and self-destructive. With the years, with the firings, with the humiliations, that changed. He was no longer fiery. He was a man on fire. He was not combative, but a man searching for a fight. He wasn't self-destructive, he was almost universally destructive. It's just that sooner or later, he got his too.

By the end, Martin the man — the walking psychodrama — riveted our attention, much as we tried to turn our eyes away. With time, however, perhaps we will be able to take a slightly longer view and also remember Martin the player, the manager, the teacher. If he'd only known himself half as well as he knew his game, he might have been the best.

## NBA Longs And Shorts, All in L.A.

The Associated Press

Two-tenths of a second and 15 years.

The two-tenths of a second was the time remaining when Larry Bird was fouled in one National Basketball Association game Tuesday night in Los Angeles. He made two free throws, giving the Boston Celtics a 112-111 victory over the Los Angeles Clippers. It also was the time left when Ron Harper took an inbound pass, turned and made a three-point shot that officials ruled he released after time expired.

Across town, the Los Angeles Lakers extended to 15 years, a stretch of 37 games, their dominance in the Forum of the Kings franchise.

Sacramento, home for the Kings since the club moved from Kansas City, appeared set to end that streak after taking a 102-94 lead with 2:50 to play. But the Lakers scored the last 10 points to win, 104-102.

Magic Johnson scored 27 points for the Lakers, two on free throws with 19 seconds left that broke a 102-102 tie. Byron Scott snapped a slump by scoring 12 of his 26 points in the fourth quarter after Sacramento took a 12-point lead.

"It's got to be hard for the Kings to have controlled the game until the last 19 seconds," said Johnson, who also had 14 assists.

Wayman Tisdale had 33 points for Sacramento, but missed a three-point shot that would have won at the buzzer.

Charles Smith, who scored a career-high 33 for the Clippers, said he didn't foul Bird. "It's frustrating to come up with a loss when you know you didn't lose," Smith said. "It's political. This stuff happens to us over and over."

"He blocked it pretty clean at the top, but he got me with some body and I guess the officials saw the body contact," said Bird, who had 27 points as the Celtics beat the Clippers for the 11th consecutive game.



Martin in the Yankee dugout in New York during the 1983 season.

## Belli Became Billy, Then Battling Billy

The Associated Press

NEW YORK — Alfred Manuel Belli was born in Berkeley, California, on May 16, 1928. His Italian grandmother called him "Belli," Italian for pretty.

That evolved into Billy, and then into Battling Billy and Billy the Kid, for good reason. Ernie Banks, the former slugger of the Chicago Cubs, once quipped that Martin was the only person ever to appear in both the Baseball Register and Ring Magazine.

Billy Martin was a scrappy, clutch-hitting second baseman on five Yankee World Series championship teams during the 1950s and five times was their manager between 1975 and 1988.

As a manager, he had 1,258 victories and 1,018 losses in 16 seasons with the Minnesota Twins, Detroit Tigers, Texas Rangers, the Yankees, the Oakland Athletics and then the Yankees again and again and again and again.

Martin's major-league brawling began in 1952, his third season, when he fought with the St. Louis Browns' catcher, Clint Courtney, after a play at the plate.

His opponents also included outfielder Jimmy Piersall of Boston, Cubs pitcher Jim Brewer, pitcher Dave Boswell and traveling secretary Howard Fox of the Twins and two of his Yankee players — outfielder Reggie Jackson and pitcher Ed Whitson — as well as a Nevada sports writer, a marshallman, a salesman, bar patrons in California and Baltimore and three men in the restroom of a topless bar in Arlington, Texas.

Martin unwittingly summed up his career at the 1988 winter meetings when he accidentally hit the alarm in an Atlanta hotel elevator, bringing several guards running.

"You know me," Martin said. "I could get in trouble in church."

Martin joined the Yankees in 1950 from the Oakland Oaks of the Pacific Coast League, where he had played for Casey Stengel, the manager of the Yankees when Martin came up. Martin developed a father-son relationship with the childless Stengel, although they didn't speak for a time after Martin was traded to Kansas City in 1957.

Martin broke into the big leagues with a bang, tying a major-league record by getting two hits in the eighth inning against Boston on April 18, 1950.

If Martin averaged only one hit for every four at-bats during his career, it often was the hit that decided a game. He batted .333 in five World Series: 33 for 99, with five home runs and 19 runs batted in.

In the seventh game of the 1952 series against the Brooklyn Dodgers, Martin made a memorable game-saving catch of Jackie Robinson's little pop fly behind the mound with the bases loaded and two outs in the seventh inning.

A year later, he won the Babe Ruth Award as the outstanding player among Brooklyn by hitting .500 and setting a record with 12 hits in a six-game series.

Martin's most celebrated off-field fight occurred in 1957 when he and Yankee teammates Mickey Mantle, Yogi Berra, Hank Bauer and Johnny Kucks were involved in a brawl at New York's Copacabana night club. Martin was fined \$1,000 and traded to Kansas City shortly thereafter.

But he could do little wrong where Yankee fans were concerned. They loved his fiery, unpretentious style, and so did

George Steinbrenner, who had become the team's principal owner.

In 1978, less than a week after Martin's first term as Yankee manager ended in a tearful resignation to a Kansas City hotel, Steinbrenner announced that Martin would return in 1980. But Steinbrenner couldn't wait that long and brought him back on July 19, 1979, to replace Bob Lemon.

Billy II lasted the rest of that season but Martin was fired on Oct. 29 after an altercation with a marshallman in a Minnesota hotel bar.

His first managerial job in the majors was with Minnesota in 1969. The Twins won the American League West championship that year, but Martin was involved in an altercation with Boswell on Aug. 6 and was fired on Oct. 13.

On Oct. 2, 1970, he was named manager of the Detroit Tigers. They won the AL East title in 1972 but Martin was fired on Sept. 2, 1973. The Texas Rangers hired him less than a week later and with them he lasted until July 20, 1975.

Martin went from the Rangers to the Yankees for Billy I. In 1976, the Yankees won their first pennant since 1964 and the next year they won their first World Series title since 1962.

But Martin was gone on July 24, 1978, one day after making the famous "one's a born liar, the other's a convicted" comment about Jackson and Steinbrenner, who had pleaded guilty to making illegal contributions to President Richard Nixon's re-election campaign.

After Billy II, it was on to Oakland for the 1980, 1981 and 1982 seasons. The A's won the AL West in 1981 but lost to the Yankees in the playoffs. The A's fired Martin

## Billy Martin's Managing Career

Year	Team	W	L	Pct.
1969	Minn.	97	65	.599
1971	Detroit	91	71	.562
1972	Detroit	86	70	.551
1973	Detroit	76	67	.531
1973	Texas	9	14	.391
1974	Texas	84	76	.525
1975	Texas	44	51	.463
1975	Yankees	30	26	.536
1976	Yankees	97	62	.610
1977	Yankees	100	62	.617
1978	Yankees	52	42	.553
1979	Yankees	55	41	.573
1980	Oakland	83	79	.512
1981	Oakland	64	45	.587
1982	Oakland	68	94	.420
1983	Yankees	91	71	.562
1985	Yankees	91	54	.628
1988	Yankees	40	28	.588
Totals		1258	1018	.553

\*Won Division title  
†Won American League pennant  
‡Won World Series

He was fired for the last time on June 23, 1988, and became a special advisor to Steinbrenner.

"I'm still the best manager in baseball," he insisted. "I'm a Yankee, and I'll leave like a Yankee. I'll try to handle it as best I can, but how many times can a man have his heart broken? I'm not a good loser. I never have been."

## Funeral Set for Friday in New York; Driver Had Bad Record in Michigan

The Associated Press

PORT CRANE, N.Y. — Funeral services for Billy Martin, 61, who died Christmas night when the truck in which he was riding skidded off an icy rural road and into a ditch, will be held Friday in New York City.

William Reedy, a Detroit bar owner and long-time friend who was driving the truck, has been charged with drunken driving, a misdemeanor that carries at most a year in jail and a \$1,000 fine.

According to state records in Michigan, Reedy's driver's license was restricted for three months after an 1987 arrest in Dear-

born in which his blood-alcohol level registered more than 0.07 percent. The level of legal intoxication in Michigan is 0.1 percent.

He also was ordered to attend outpatient alcohol treatment classes, said Denise Yockley of the Michigan Secretary of State's office.

State records showed Reedy's other infractions included careless driving, making an improper turn and two for speeding, both received after his impairment offense.

Reedy, owner of Reedy's Bar near Detroit's Tiger Stadium, sustained a broken hip and possible broken ribs in the accident. He was listed in fair condition Tuesday in the Up-

state Medical Center Hospital at Syracuse. Icy, slippery roads and Reedy's unfamiliarity with the area were believed to be factors in the accident, Broome County Sheriff Anthony Ruffo said. He said the speed limit on the road that the truck skidded off was 55 mph (89 kph), but that he did not know how fast the truck had been going.

Mechanical failure of Martin's four-wheel-drive 1989 Ford pickup was ruled out, the sheriff said. "The truck checked out fine," he said. Authorities said the men were not wearing seat belts.

Broome County District Attorney Gerald

Mollen said it will be "days, at least" before he decides whether to press a more serious charge, such as manslaughter. He said the case will be complicated by the fact that the county corner, Patrick Ruddy, at the request of Martin's family, refused to do an autopsy.

Ruffo said Reedy's driving and arrest records would be considered in discussing further charges with local prosecutors.

"It's practically a 90-degree turn there," he explained. "To make it worse, there's a downgrade toward the Martin property. When the truck skidded off the road into the ditch, it continued in that direction."



William Reedy, in a 1985 photo taken in his bar near Tiger Stadium.

## SCOREBOARD

## FOOTBALL

## NFL Leaders

## AMERICAN CONFERENCE

Team	Yds	Rsh	Pas
Cincinnati	4101	2403	4218
Denver	4065	1728	3499
Atlanta	3825	2227	3038
Kansas City	3805	2027	3001
Cleveland	3542	1697	3423
San Diego	3541	1696	3415
Indianapolis	3499	1628	2951
Seattle	3498	1628	2951
Philadelphia	3498	1628	2951
Pittsburgh	3498	1628	2951

## NATIONAL CONFERENCE

Team	Yds	Rsh	Pas
Kansas City	4292	1764	2927
San Diego	4407	1830	2871
Atlanta	4164	1813	2951
Cleveland	4031	1709	3161
San Francisco	3903	1740	3063
Buffalo	3904	1640	3204
Houston	3811	1667	3042
Seattle	3515	1118	3077
Cincinnati	3297	2162	3135
Pittsburgh	3249	2008	3047
Indianapolis	3411	2077	3054
New England	3444	1978	3064
Atlanta	3406	2152	3042
San Francisco	3394	2134	3058

## INDIVIDUAL

## Quarterbacks

Team	Yds	Rsh	Pas
Atlanta	455	228	222
San Francisco	448	230	223
San Francisco	391	228	213
San Francisco	374	223	213
San Francisco	350	223	213
San Francisco	334	223	213
San Francisco	318	223	213
San Francisco	302	223	213
San Francisco	286	223	213
San Francisco	270	223	213

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## 1990 NFL Opponents

Games for the 1990 season based on the "common opponent" formula begun in 1978. Dates and sites to be set later.

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